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ABSTRACT

In 1992, a study described the legal status, aims, organization, resources, role, and future prospects of the independent educational sector of the 17 countries of Western Europe and the context in which that sector operated. In the six years since the compilation, the European Economic Community has become the European Union. It has increased its membership by the admission of three countries, Austria, Sweden, and Finland; has been besieged by candidates from Eastern Europe; and has been debating the possibility of a common currency and some degree of federation that would further reduce the national identity and autonomy of its member states in favor of a common European citizenship. Under present legislation, the role of the European Commission in relation to education is the promotion of the European Dimension and of cooperation among members toward common goals, leaving the organization and administration of national systems of education to the member governments concerned. At national level, devolution of central control over educational systems and their curricula to regions and school governors has gained momentum unevenly and is evident in the Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom. To attempt a parallel account of the growth of independent education in Eastern Europe would be premature, despite some real progress gained at great personal sacrifice to those concerned, most notably in Poland. The study does individual reports on the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland (Eire), Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Norway, and Switzerland. Appendixes contain a list of independent school associations and exchange rates in March 1997. (BT)

Independent Education in Western Europe.

by

Peter Mason

SO 029 974

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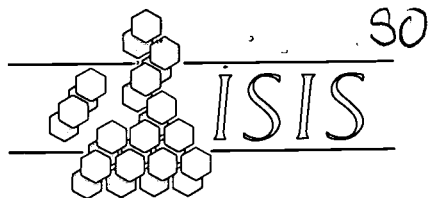
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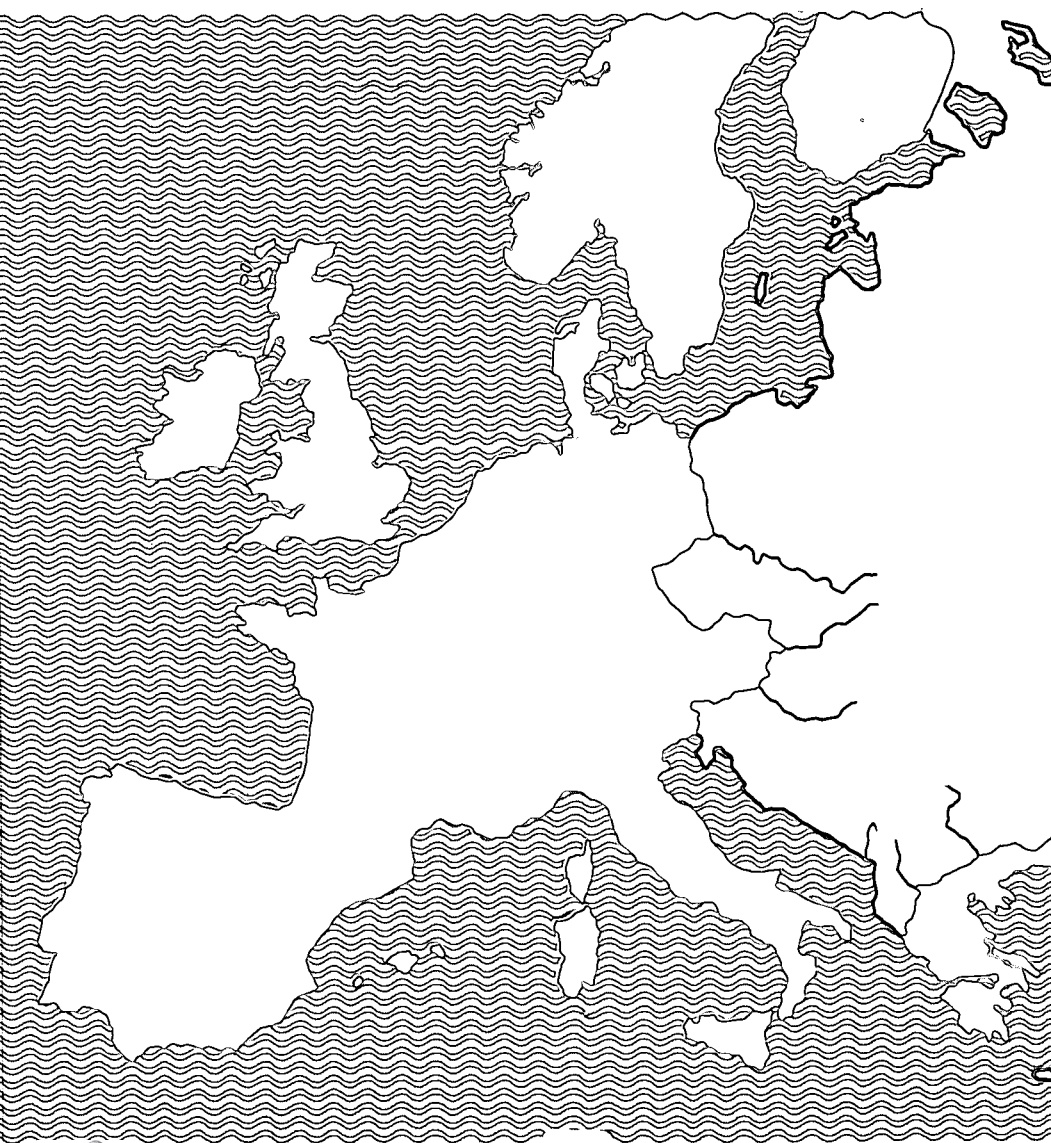
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INDEPENDENT EDUCATION IN WESTERN EUROPE



INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS
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**For
Marjorie**
for invaluable aid and support
at every stage

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CONTENTS

Introduction	p 2
<i>Countries in membership of the European Community</i>	
Austria	p 7
Belgium	p 12
Denmark	p 18
Finland	p 24
France	p 29
Germany	p 38
Greece	p 48
Ireland (Eire)	p 53
Italy	p 60
Luxembourg	p 67
The Netherlands	p 71
Portugal	p 79
Spain	p 85
Sweden	p 96
The United Kingdom	p107
 <i>Countries not in membership of the European Community</i>	
Norway	p 75
Switzerland	p100
 <i>(NB All countries are in membership of the Council of Europe)</i>	
 Appendix 1 — Independent School Associations	 p117
Appendix 2 — Exchange rates, March 1997	p120

INDEPENDENT EDUCATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

Preface to 1st edition, 1992

The European scene

Since the publication of *Private Education in the EEC* in 1983 when the Community consisted of ten members, the pace of change in Europe has accelerated beyond all expectation and 1992 is marked not only by the beginning of a new phase in the economic and political development of the Community as it is at present constituted but by the emergence of new democracies from the ruins of the Warsaw Pact whose ambition is for partnership sooner or later in a larger and perhaps Federal Europe. This book has therefore been updated and enlarged to include Spain and Portugal, which have joined the Community since the first edition, and also Austria, Switzerland, Finland, Norway and Sweden—countries which, while they are not at present within the Community fold, share the same Western European traditions of education and uphold the importance of variety and freedom of choice for parents and educators and of ensuring, as far as is practicable, equality of opportunity in our increasingly pluralistic societies. This extension corresponds with the establishment of closer links and greater interchange of experience between independent schools in these countries through the European Council of National Associations of Independent Schools (ECNAIS) which was established in April 1988 as the result of a conference organised by the Independent Schools Joint Council in London in 1987. The Council, together with its opposite number, the European Committee for Catholic Education, with which it has close liaison, represents virtually the whole independent sector in discussions with the EC Commission and the Council of Europe.

It may well not be long before further chapters will be needed to cover the development of independent education in the new democracies of Eastern Europe. In Germany government is actively promoting changes in legislation for education, including changes to the Constitution and the laws of the new Länder, to permit the establishment of independent schools parallel to those of Western Germany. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary a number of independent schools, including a Steiner school in Hungary and another in Estonia, have already been established and are in negotiation with their governments about the creation of new educational legislation to guarantee their freedom and, if possible, to assist them with funding. Their efforts are encouraged and co-ordinated by a new pressure group, FORUM, which is supported by academics and educational associations in Western Europe. They lack adequate financial resources, equipment and trained teachers, especially in foreign languages but nevertheless demonstrate how important they feel educational freedom and variety to be for their changed societies. At a recent working party on Education in a Free Society organised by the European Foundation Centre in Belgium, the contributions of delegates from the former Warsaw Pact countries showed their Western colleagues that they had much of value to the West to contribute from their own experiences.

Patterns of independence

It is the purpose of this study not only to describe in some detail the legal status, aims, organisation, resources, role and future prospects of the independent sector in each country and the context in which it operates but to demonstrate the nature of and the reasons for the very considerable differences between them in the degree of freedom allowed and support given to independent schools and parents in order to ensure equality of opportunity to choose and variety of educational offering.

The role of government in education and the nature of its responsibility for it are in process of slow but steady change throughout Europe, though not at a uniform pace—change from the role of controller and manager to that of ‘enabler’, whose duty is to provide the means and logistic support for a very varied pattern of self-governing educational institutions in which teachers, parents and the local community share a measure of control and influence. In the so-called Luster Declaration of 1984 the European Community gave some impetus towards change in this direction when it officially called upon its members to recognise more completely the right of parents to choose their children’s education, which must be without discrimination based on sex, race, philosophical or religious beliefs, nationality, social class or economic standing and in accordance with the various declarations of human rights. The ten clauses of the resolution included explicit mention of freedom in education and the right to establish independent schools, which governments must subsidise on equal terms with the state system but which should be required to ‘make a certain contribution of their own as a token of their own responsibility and as a means of supporting their independent status’.

In the earlier book I pointed out that while the United Kingdom shares with its continental neighbours the common traditions of Western democratic culture, including a commitment to freedom of belief and therefore of parental choice in education and to variety of educational aims, there are on the other hand considerable differences of practice both in the organisation of education and in curriculum between the UK and continental countries. These stem mainly from differences in historical and social development, accentuated by geography and temperament. At one end of what I have elsewhere called the ‘elitist’ spectrum, independent schools in the United Kingdom, which educate about 7.4% of the total school population, enjoy virtual freedom from control by government in curriculum and policy matters, are mostly charitable institutions enjoying certain privileges in matters of taxation and receive no direct subsidies from government. This means that the full cost of educating their pupils must come from fees paid by parents or their sponsors (including government through the Assisted Places Scheme) and, where they exist, from endowments—which are mostly used for scholarships and bursaries. Furthermore admission to independent secondary schools is normally by competitive examination, though the standards required vary from school to school, so that there is a double hurdle for potential recruits to overcome. On the one hand the schools are highly prized for their autonomy, their generally high academic achievement and the quality of their corporate life and on the other are much criticized for their expense and exclusiveness and are the subject of attack from political parties.

At the other end of the spectrum, in Holland and Belgium, where between 60% and 70% of the school population are in the independent sector, Catholic, Protestant and lay independent schools are fully subsidized by the state, may not charge fees for general education and must for the most part conform to state curricula and examinations. As a result opportunity for choice and equality of opportunity are maximised at the cost of a premium on variety and experiment and a high degree of government control.

In between these extremes are systems in which partial subsidy and different degrees of control achieve a more or less acceptable balance between the two poles for the society concerned. The most notable is perhaps that of Denmark where a long tradition both of state involvement in education and of democratic freedom of choice has achieved an enviable degree of freedom and openness combined with state support. The Danish Ministry of Education gives great freedom over curriculum and teaching

methods to individual schools, both state and independent, and it is normal for them to be much influenced by parental wishes and opinions, a process which is, as was indicated above, now gaining more momentum and legal recognition in other European countries generally. Denmark's special distinction is that it gives open, neutrally administered and liberal financial aid to independent schools of every type, creed and philosophy provided they satisfy some very minimal standards and teach the Danish language.

It should perhaps be added in this connection that three additional factors may help to explain differences between the role of independent schools in the UK and on the Continent. Firstly, in all countries except in the UK, confessional schools have remained recognised parts of a subsidised independent sector and have fought for and obtained this recognition in various kinds of '*guerre scolaire*' against proponents of unitary, lay systems of education, sometimes at the cost of political concessions in other fields. In England, where education was for many centuries virtually the monopoly of the established Church of England, the majority of Church primary and secondary schools were absorbed into the state system early in the twentieth century as 'voluntary-aided' or 'controlled' schools with only limited autonomy, which has since been further diminished. Only those which belonged to the so-called 'public schools' remained in the independent sector, except in Northern Ireland where aided schools are largely independent. Secondly, until very recently there has been no centralised control of curriculum and organisation in the UK. In the state system local authorities and governors and heads of schools have shared much of the very real autonomy of the independent sector. Thirdly, though the UK has signed the various Declarations of Human Rights, they are not incorporated in English law and there is no written constitution of the kind found in other European countries to guarantee personal rights of choice.

Underlying the differences in the status and organisation of independent education in all democratic countries is the long-standing debate for and against freedom of choice, a debate in which the balance has moved convincingly in favour of increased opportunity during the last decade, and more especially since the collapse of Marxist regimes in Russia and the Warsaw Pact countries and the discrediting of socialist dogma and the command economy. In France a socialist government which attempted to weaken the almost exclusively Catholic independent sector and wished ultimately to impose a single, lay and unified national system of education was thwarted by massive demonstrations of support from parents, the Catholic church and the public in 1984 and forced to abandon attempts to zone entry and restrict expansion. Nevertheless, the struggle continues without loss of momentum despite the European movement in favour of pluralism fostered by a neutral state authority. In Spain, where some 33% of the school population attend independent schools, the 'schools of social initiative' as they are called have lost some ground and are still under pressure caused in part by the government's financial weakness and in part by their political convictions, but can count on majority support from voters. In the UK the Labour Party, while still opposed to independent education, has abandoned its declared aim of abolishing it entirely and in Greece, where all kinds of education are subject to undiluted central control, policy has changed somewhat with the defeat of Papandreou's party. Public opinion polls and surveys in all countries show that on average 70% of the electorate are firmly in favour of freedom of parental choice for its own sake and for variety, which are seen to help to promote a more lively and varied adult democratic society; and the argument that a unified system of comprehensive schools is the only basis for equality of opportunity has been proved to fail. Debate is now centred not on

the right of independent schools to exist but on the amount and manner of subsidy and control required to afford a real degree of equality of opportunity to the disadvantaged as well as to the prosperous without damage to quality and variety. How best to subsidise is still much in debate and subsidies, where they exist, will come under increasing economic pressure in the nineties. The argument in favour of some kind of voucher, whether uniform or weighted to favour the least able to pay fees of any kind, has not yet been put on trial except briefly in state schools in California in the 70s but may well gain in appeal. What is certain is that subsidy given to parents according to need rather than to schools would help to provide opportunity and variety of choice and give greater freedom to the schools from administrative controls. The British Assisted Places Scheme, if its competitive element were reduced and it were extended to places at Steiner and other schools, might well offer a more satisfactory solution than the cumbersome checks and balances now in force in so many countries.

The title of this study, *Independent Education in Europe*, reflects the deliberate choice of this description by what have traditionally been called 'private' schools both in the UK and in Europe generally and which are still in many countries so described in legislation and in popular usage. In the main, 'independent' schools are to-day either charitable or non-profit-making institutions which differ from the state system by reason of their independent status and their freedom to control their own affairs. In the studies which follow, the word 'private' has been retained where it better suits the historical context or the legislative and administrative practice of the country concerned. The general public in many countries still tends to use the older, more familiar term, while the term 'free' tends to be applied to experimental types of school whose educational philosophy and organisation differ from established patterns.

1997—The New Edition

In the six years since the compilation of the 1st edition the European Economic Community has become the European Union, increased its membership by the admission of three countries, Austria, Sweden and Finland, is besieged by candidates from Eastern Europe and is debating the desirability of a common currency and some degree of federation which would further reduce the national identity and autonomy of its member states in favour of a common European citizenship. Under present legislation, the role of the European Commission under the Council of Ministers in relation to education is the promotion of the European Dimension and of cooperation between members towards common goals, leaving the organisation and administration of national systems of education to the member governments concerned. The management of inter-community projects has to a great extent been transferred from Brussels to national agencies subject to the controls of the relevant community programmes, of which the most important are Socrates and Leonardo. So far economics have limited their scope beyond the Community Frontier, where interest is strong and voluntary agencies in the community are much involved.

At national level, devolution of central control over educational systems and their curricula to regions and school governors has gained momentum unevenly and is most marked in Scandinavia and to a lesser extent in the United Kingdom. Variety of parental choice and financial support for various types of independent schools is also greatest in Scandinavia but is virtually restricted to denominational schools in countries like Spain and France where the Churches continue to champion resistance to centralist, lay education policies. There has been considerable growth in the popularity of so

called 'free', 'little' and 'alternative' schools, most notably again in Scandinavia, but also in Germany and Holland and in other countries where they are recognised and receive financial support. This is especially true of the Steiner schools. At the last count there were 104 in Holland, 160 in Germany, compared with 38 in Switzerland, 11 in France, 16 in Great Britain, 3 in the Republic of Ireland and 2 in Spain in all of which countries they are unsubsidised. In the proportionally smaller or less densely populated northern countries they average about 24 per country. The period has also shown increases in the number of Christian Evangelical Schools in countries where educational policy over subsidy is not discriminatory. It is interesting to note that in Eastern Europe these alternative schools have strong appeal, often at great personal cost to their supporters.

It is disappointing to report that to attempt a parallel account of the growth of independent education in Eastern Europe would still be premature, despite some very real progress gained at great personal sacrifice to those concerned, most notably in Poland, with the support of colleagues in Western Europe.

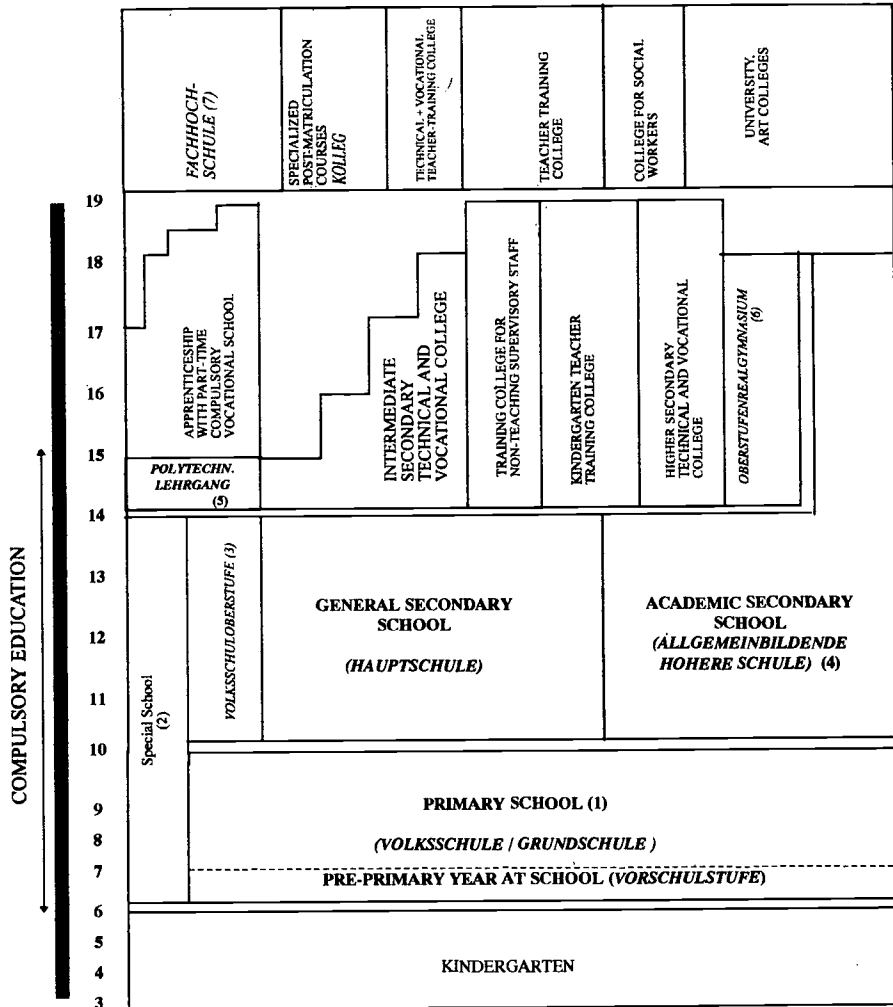
It has been rewarding to note increased interest both in Western Europe and amongst its neighbours in learning about and understanding the nature of the differences in the role and status of independent schools in their different national contexts. The earlier version of this study has been widely used by state officials, independent school associations, and by educational and constitutional researchers and has been translated into Russian and Hungarian. I hope this new edition will help to further understanding of the value of variety of choice and equality of opportunity to choose in strengthening the development of genuine democracy.

A personal note

As Honorary Director of Research for the Independent Schools Information Service and later also as Founder Chairman and latterly Life President of the European Council of National Association of Independent Schools (ECNAIS) I have been privileged in the course of the last seventeen years to travel widely in Europe as well as further afield, to see something at first hand of the role and organisation of independent schools in the different countries and to meet those who run them and teach in them or administer their associations, parents, pupils, government officials and representatives of the press. Without their patience in answering enquiries and the warmth of their hospitality and friendship the gathering of anything like adequate evidence would have been an impossible task. My debt of gratitude to each and every one of them is immense and I can only apologise for the misunderstandings and lacunae which my friends in Europe will inevitably detect in the account of their special fields of interest. Some of these, at least, result from the tardiness of government statisticians in many countries in the compilation of up-to-date educational statistics.

***Acknowledgement:** The diagrams showing the educational systems of the 15 member countries of the EU are the work of the national units of the Eurydice network, as published in an Eurydice European publication entitled "Structures of the Education and Initial Training Systems in the European Union," second edition prepared jointly by Eurydice and CEDEFOP (ISBN 92-826-9319-8, 1995).*

AUSTRIA



1. The pre-primary year precedes primary school, and is for children of compulsory school age who are not yet mature enough to attend primary school proper.
2. Special schools are not described in the text.
3. The Upper Level of Primary School. It is one of the school types at the lower level of secondary education, but the number of pupils now attending such schools is negligible.
4. The academic secondary school comprises four years at the lower level and four years at the upper level.
5. Pre-vocational year. This mainly concerns 14- to 15-year-olds wishing to learn an occupation immediately after the completion of compulsory schooling.
6. Separate upper-level type of academic secondary school, entered on completion of eight years of general education.
7. Post-secondary special-subject colleges. These have been established from the academic year 1994/95 as an alternative to existing university studies.



AUSTRIA

The national background

Austria, like Switzerland, is a land-locked, largely mountainous country with frontiers shared with seven neighbours. It is a nodal point for international traffic by air, rail, road and above all by the River Danube. It was proclaimed a Republic in 1945 and its status finally regulated by treaty in 1995, when it also declared its permanent neutrality as a Federal Republic. The official language is German but the languages of the Slovenian, Croatian and Hungarian minorities are recognised. The educational system has much in common with that of Germany, is controlled by the Federal Ministry of Education and Arts under a complicated and all-embracing legal code and is financed partly by central and partly by provincial budgets. It is highly selective at all stages as the diagram makes clear. Compulsory education is from 6 to 15+ with the option of transfer from the *Volksschule* at 10+ either to *Hauptschule* or, for the 30% who have high grades in German, reading and mathematics, to an academic secondary school - *Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule* - where the formerly separate gymnasium courses in classics, modern languages and science are now united in a single comprehensive academic course leading on to more specialised study in preparation for university entry in the second four-year cycle. Those who intend to leave school at 15+ join the pre-vocational *Polytechnische Lehrgang* for a year. There is a wide choice of other courses from 14+, ranging from vocational training to teacher training and higher technical and vocational college. It is claimed that 99% of all pupils continue education beyond the compulsory stage.

Curricula and book lists are promulgated by the Ministry but their application is now partly at the discretion of the School Committees of individual schools. Schools at compulsory level are financed by the *Länder* and those at higher level by the state. Tuition and textbooks are free at all levels and schools still have very little financial autonomy.

Students taking academic courses are examined in the *Matura* and those who pass and achieve matriculation (*Reifeprüfungszeugnis*) are called *Maturanten*. There are equivalent tests for the other kinds of course admitting to other further education and careers.

The full and highly complicated range of alternative choices is found only in the larger towns and cities where greater numbers take at least the first academic cycle. There has been some delegation of control from the centre in recent years but criticism of the rigidity of the curriculum and the lack of greater autonomy for schools is still rife.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR.

1. Constitutional safeguards, legal controls and subsidies

Legal control of education in Austria is shared between the national and the *Länder* governments. The European Declarations of Human Rights have been incorporated in Austrian law but there is no legal recourse to the relevant United Nations Pacts. The State has clear and complete constitutional control of the educational system but the constitution of 1867 and subsequent legislation confirm the right of suitably qualified persons to establish schools provided they fulfil the requirements of the public system and give the church responsibility for religious education. A Concordat with the Vatican of 1962 authorised the subsidised provision of teachers, which now applies to church schools of all denominations as long as they conform to state norms. Subsequently some recognition and support have been extended to a small number of other types of independent school.

Provincial legislation determines conditions for the setting up of private kindergartens. Independent schools exist at all levels of education, the most significant sponsors, except in vocational and technical education, being the Churches, with the Catholics in the lead. Schools may be set up under the Private Schools Act either by individuals or by corporate bodies who must notify the provincial school authority of their intention and the type of school planned. The Act distinguishes two groups of independent school - those with a statutory counterpart in the public sector and those without. The first category must follow the curriculum of public-sector schools while sharing their autonomy in the details of its design and their Governing Bodies are subject to the same regulations as those of state schools. They are entitled to grant the same official examination certificates as state schools. Schools of the second type are responsible for their own regulation but programmes must be officially authorised.

Examinations conducted by schools which are granted status under public law (*Öffentlichkeitsrecht*) by the Federal Ministry have the same validity as those of state schools and pupils are entitled to free transport, text books and school and boarding allowances. Schools which do not have a public sector counterpart may be granted public sector status on the basis of their long-term educational achievements. They are responsible for their own regulation but their programmes must be officially authorised.

The majority of independent schools are confessional schools under Catholic control either by the hierarchy or the religious orders. These denominational schools are entitled to as many teaching posts as they need to meet the requirements of state curricula on a teacher/pupil ratio equivalent to that in state schools. Teachers are seconded to the staffs of the schools but remain either federal or provincial public servants and are paid from state funds. The schools have the right to refuse a teacher without giving a reason. If no suitable state teacher is available the school may recruit on its own account and will be reimbursed from public funds. They may also benefit from church funds and other sources.

Schools not maintained by the churches or the orders are not entitled to staff subsidies except by special provision. The Private School Act does not provide funds to meet the cost of maintaining buildings and the purchase of furniture and equipment but allows all independent schools to apply to the Ministry for a subsidy for extraordinary expenses, on the basis of a private contract, for example for building costs.

It should be noted that there are four Catholic 'Universities of Theology' with state approval and that with the legalisation of local or private tertiary technical courses (*Fachhochschulen*) the state no longer has a monopoly at this level also.

3. Statistics and fees

Official statistics for 1995/6 record a surprising total of 420 independent schools (of which about 20 are Protestant and more than 300 Roman Catholic) out of a national total of 6,172. They educate 83,638 pupils (7.08%) out of a national total of 1,181,724.

Table 1 below lists numbers of schools and pupils in the independent sector compared with the total numbers in each category in the main types of compulsory and higher secondary schools. There are also 11 independent special schools with 569 pupils.

Table 1

School type	Independent sector		Total ind + state		Ind.pupils
	schools	pupils	schools	pupils	%
Volksschulen	81	15,473	391	685,992	2.25
Hauptschulen	58	10,802	1,179	267,093	4.04
Polytech.Lehr.	1	20	378	17,474	2.16
Academic Sec	66	25,647	315	180,496	14.21
Vocational 10-14	6	515	220	133,329	0.39
Vocation Middle	153	12,969	478	52,971	24.4
Vocation Upper	52	10,317	271	106,529	9.88

The list of independent schools in Austria, in which the Catholic schools predominate at all levels, includes 13 gymnasias in Vienna, almost half for girls, and 19 in provincial centres, together with 27 *Hauptschulen*. The rest include a small number of Jewish schools and 10 Steiner schools belonging to the *Bund freier Waldorfschulen*, most of which now cover the whole age range. Three are in Vienna, two in Graz and the rest in other cities. They receive a small subsidy from public funds amounting to not more than 10% of costs, much less than is awarded to their equivalents in Germany. There are also a few 'alternative' schools.

Fees in Catholic secondary schools (excluding a meal and afternoon supervision) vary from 800 to 2,000 Austrian schillings per month for ten months in the year. The charge for afternoon supervision is from 750 - 1,900 schillings extra per month and full boarding costs about 7,000 schillings per month inclusive.

Fees in non-Church schools including the Steiner schools are usually higher but are adjusted according to ability to pay. Only very few pupils are boarders in the full sense though many pay for meals and the afternoon supervision if both parents work.

3. Management and control

Catholic schools are coordinated by an interdiocesan office in Vienna, Steiner schools also have their headquarters there. Addresses are listed in the Appendix. There are also alternative schools run on other pedagogical principles including those of Frenet. Montessori principles are adopted in some mainstream and teacher training institutions rather than being taught in separate independent schools. There is now also a separate new national organisation for alternative schools for which see section 4 below.

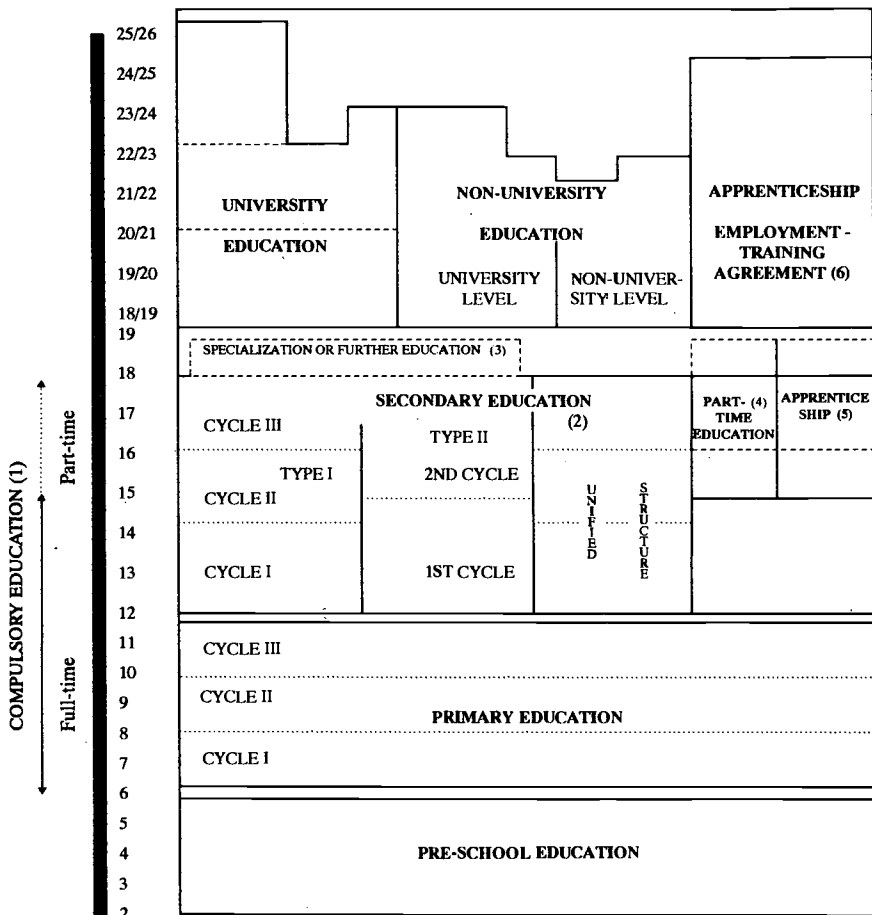
4. The status and future of the independent sector

Though there has been some degree of devolution of strict central control of education in the nineties and some encouraging expansion in the independent sector both in numbers and in scope, subsidy from public funds is in the main limited to schools which follow the state pattern both in principle and in detail and is noticeably less liberal than that of Germany with which Austrian education has so much in common - something which is reflected in the less generous help given to Steiner and similar schools. Austria has a long history of political dispute about educational policy and its legal framework tends to be inflexible. An encouraging sign was a recent comparative study financed by the Federal Ministry concerning children attending alternative schools and those with official recognition. The alternative schools were members of a national umbrella organisation for autonomous learning (*Netzwerk - Bundesdachverband für selbstbestimmtes Lernen*). The report noted that the typical 'alternative' pupil had well-educated parents with below-average income, half being single mothers who benefited from the provision of all-day care and a lively social

atmosphere. Although performance at primary level was less good in reading, writing and arithmetic than in recognised state or independent schools, pupils were more emancipated and fuller of initiative; and they caught up on basic skills later. Girls benefited from the fact that there was no predominance of boys.

It remains to be seen whether integration in the EU and closer contact with other patterns of education will stimulate further loosening of control and delegation of authority to choose and experiment.

BELGIUM



..... = division in the level / type of education.

----- = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education.

- Compulsory education covers twelve years, from 6 to 18 years of age. It is full-time up to 15 years of age; those who have completed at least the first two years of secondary education and do not wish to continue full-time until 18 may then follow part-time compulsory education. Pupils who have not completed 3 years of secondary education must attend full-time compulsory education until 16 years of age.
- TYPE I or 'renovated' education comprises secondary education at lower and upper secondary levels, organized in four forms – general, technical, vocational and artistic education – and two main streams, one leading primarily to higher education, the other primarily to employment. TYPE II or 'traditional' education comprises secondary education at lower and upper secondary levels comprising general, technical or vocational sections. Type I education is being extended to nearly all schools in the French and German-speaking Communities. Type I and II are being replaced by a unified structure in the Flemish Community.
- A preparatory year for higher education or a year of specialization or further education for employment after 6 years of secondary education.
- Part-time education is available to 15- or 16-year-olds, and covers the last years of compulsory schooling. It lasts 360 hours in the first year (for 15/16-year-olds) and 240 hours in the following years.
- The theoretical training of apprenticeship lasts the same time (360 hours in the 1st year and 240 hours in the following two years) as part-time education.
- The Employment-Training Agreement is available to 18- to 25-year-olds, and lasts 256 hours when provided by an employer and 500 hours when followed in a training establishment.

BELGIUM

The national background

Education in Belgium is complicated by the linguistic and cultural divisions between those whose mother tongue and cultural background is French, Flemish or German, divisions which are reflected increasingly in political structures and are indeed the main determinant in many spheres of policy including education. Until 1988 education was administered on behalf of the central government by two separate Ministries of Education and Culture, one for the French and German and one for the Dutch language groups, on the basis of an agreed policy with regional variations based on language and with a mixed regime in the Brussels agglomeration to accommodate its mixed population. There are no bilingual schools in Belgium though both French, German and Dutch are taught as appropriate in addition to the regional language. New amendments to the Constitution of the Federal State made in June 1988 formally recognise the existence of three separate communities, each based on a separate language and each with a Council with legislative and executive powers. Each receives a share of the national budget to be spent on 'cultural affairs' which include education, public health and other matters. The result has been increasingly divergent patterns of control and presentation in the educational system. The central government retains control only of three matters: the extent of compulsory schooling (which is from 6 to 18 with some part-time education in the final two years for those who do not stay in full-time education), the minimum conditions for the award of diplomas or certificates and the pensions scheme for teachers, though it also administers the tax system and allocates funds to the three communities. Each community has a Council and a Government which includes separate Ministers for higher and for nursery, primary and secondary education. The effect of these changes on the independent sector will be considered in the following section.

Until the 1970's all Belgian schools were conservatively organised on nineteenth century lines with rigid central control and early selection into vocational and academic tracks (see type II in the accompanying diagram). A movement for the 'renovation of fundamental education' which began in 1971 initiated changes both in primary and secondary organisation, curricula and teaching methods. Secondary education in particular was converted by a Royal Decree of 1982 into a quasi-comprehensive, integrated system designed to give greater equality of opportunity and postpone specialisation until the end of the first four years (type 1). This is now obligatory in state schools which are normally coeducational and must be neutral in matters of religion, but some type II schools, based on the 1957 pattern with two cycles of three years each subdivided into different academic disciplines, are still found in the French and German sectors. There are compulsory school-based examinations at 15+ and for those who stay in full-time schooling at 18.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. The constitutional and legal position

Article 17 of the Belgian Constitution of 1831 as revised in 1988 forbids any restriction on the opening of a school but requires schools which grant authorised diplomas and/or receive subsidies to conform to legal and statutory conditions. In principle every citizen has the right to open a school. Freedom of choice between denominational and secular education was finally guaranteed in 1958 with the conclusion of a long-standing dispute

between contending clericals and anti-clericals by the so-called *pacte scolaire* between Christian Socialists and Liberals and by the passing of a law of education in May 1959 which laid down basic principles for state and independent schools.

Article 2.3 set out the right of private persons and non-profit-making and other associations to found and organise schools and to determine their own educational programmes and teaching methods subject to compliance with statutory provisions about required subjects, hygiene and holidays. Subsidised schools must adopt one of the recognised patterns or some other pattern approved by the Ministry. Since in fact almost all independent schools in Belgium, including not only nursery, primary and secondary schools but also art schools, teacher training colleges and other institutions at secondary and tertiary level, are fully subsidised, the system ensures very real equality of opportunity and a degree of variety of choice, mainly but by no means exclusively between Catholic and state institutions - though there are also Protestant, Jewish and Islamic schools.

On the debit side is the inevitable limitation of financial resources to a common level.

Article 17 in the 1988 revision of the Constitution reaffirms the right of all to education, the principle of freedom of choice for parents, of parity of esteem for different types of state and subsidised schools within the system and of free education for all in the compulsory years. It also guarantees parity of rights before the law for pupils, staff, parents and schools, while allowing the authorities to modify regulations to meet differences in types of school; and it provides a Court of Arbitration to settle disputes.

The law of education distinguishes between state schools (*enseignement officiel*), which are 'neutral', and 'church' and 'pluralist' schools (*enseignement libre*) which welcome pupils of all faiths or of none. This last category includes Montessori, Decroly, Freinet and Steiner schools. A noticeable feature is its insistence on parity of rights and treatment at the public expense, illustrated in the 1959 law which requires the authorities either to provide travel costs for a child whose parents have no non-confessional school within reasonable distance or to open a new non-confessional school; and, vice-versa, either to recognise for subsidy a nearby confessional school whose staff have equivalent confessional diplomas or to provide travel costs. It further provides for parental choice within state and subsidised schools between a fixed period of religious instruction by ministers of one of five religions - Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Islamic and Orthodox - or an equivalent period of humanistic teaching. The effects of this and previous legislation on the independent sector will be considered in the final section. Although the way education is organised remains in the hands of the national parliament, the interpretation of its decrees by the three separate communities has already led to conflict. In general there is likely to be growing divergence from national norms in the Flemish Community which will be reflected in the independent sector.

2. Statistics

At the end of the eighties 57.4% of preschool pupils, 56.2% of primary pupils, and 64.78% of secondary pupils were in independent as opposed to community schools, making an overall percentage of 60% or 1,142,012 pupils in all. About 98% of these attended Catholic schools. A breakdown by community showed that the percentage of independent pupils in the Dutch-speaking area was much higher than in Wallonia and that the independent sector was increasing in proportion to a declining total school population. Official statistics now differentiate between a) community schools under direct central authority, which are in religious terms neutral b) official schools run by provincial or

municipal authorities which may also be denominational, and c) independent schools which are either denominational or espouse a particular educational programme. The Table below gives the equivalent figures for 1993-4, the latest available.

Level	Language	Community	Independent	Ind.%	Total per level
Preschool	Fr+Germ	100,360	68,391	56.39%	397,173
	Dutch	72,830	155,592		
Total pre-sch		173,190	223,983		
Primary	Fr+Germ	174,615	142,055	55.78%	731,711
	Dutch	148,893	266,148		
Total primary		323,508	408,203		
Secondary	Fr+Germ	152,966	194,779	66.61%	801,024
	Dutch	114,478	338,801		
Total Secondary		267,444	533,580		
Grand Total		764,142	1,165,766	60.40%	1,929,908

There has been no great shift in the relative sizes of the two state sectors and the independent sector, though in 1986 the independent percentage was 56.6%. The table clearly demonstrates the disparity of choice for independent schools in the two main communities.

3. Organisation

Independent schools are owned, managed and controlled by their governing bodies or owners, who are the employers of the teaching and non-academic staff. Provided they follow a curriculum approved by the relevant community authority and the inspectorate they qualify for the following subventions from public funds:

i) the full cost of salaries for heads, teaching and administrative staff, which are paid direct to the personnel concerned and are based on the same scales as apply to their equivalents in state (i.e. community) schools.

ii) an indexed capitation fee per pupil for running costs and wages.

iii) variable fees per pupil towards the cost of equipment - BF65 in 89/90 - and towards the cost of books during compulsory schooling.

iv) annual grants for boarding provision (BF573,308 in 88/9) and capitation fees for boarders which vary according to level.

Pupils also qualify for transport to and from schools by the School Transport Service where no public transport is available.

In addition, schools may apply for help for the construction or improvement of school buildings, including those for boarding, from a Community Fund. The fund is able to use its resources to give security for loans taken out by the school and to reduce interest from market rates to 1½%.

Conditions of service for teachers in subsidised schools are regulated by a special law and are similar to those for state teachers.

Independent schools continue to campaign for complete financial parity with their state equivalents, claiming that the laws to-date provide them with only the minimum guarantee of viability, not the price of genuinely 'free choice' in education for all. They do not for the most part have the benefit of large endowments and some supplement their



income where they can by voluntary contributions from parents, graded according to income. The École Decroly for example, a member of FELSI (for which see the following section), grew from 300 to 900 pupils in the last decade and to fund its building and other costs adopted a policy of inviting parents to contribute to a separate foundation trust responsible for its buildings and maintenance. Contributions expected range from BF16,000 to BF27,800 for a single child, depending on age and stage, and from BF27,800 to BF41,000 for two or more children. There is a 25% discount for teachers.

4. Coordination and control

Catholic schools, which in Belgium vastly outnumber both Protestant and non-religious schools like Steiner and Decroly, are controlled by the Bishops, the Orders and individual congregations, school committees and other bodies. The former national Secretariat for Catholic Education has been replaced by two independent authorities - *Secrétariat Général de l'Enseignement Catholique en Communautés Française et Germanophone (SeGEC)* and *Vlaams Secretariaat van het Katholiek Onderwijs (VSKO)* which share the same address. Their services include financial and legal services, curriculum development and training. There are some five Teachers Unions for the three communities. As in other countries, the interests of owners in the communities are supervised by the Representative Association of Governing Bodies of Catholic Schools (*Representatieve Vereniging van de Inrichtende Machten van het Katholiek Onderwijs (VIMKO)* and its opposite number, *Association des Pouvoirs Organisateurs de l'Enseignement Catholique (APOEC)*. There are also two Parents Associations based in Brussels.

Protestant schools are represented by the Association of Protestant Christian Schools in Belgium (*Vereniging voor Protestants-christelijk Onderwijs in België*) in Ghent.

La Fédération des Écoles Libres Subventionnées Indépendantes (FELSI) in Brussels is a small group of French-language, non-confessional schools based on Decroly, Freinet and similar educational theories or catering for the handicapped. A parallel Flemish organisation, the Federation of Independent Schools, (*Federatie van Onafhankelijke Scholen - FOS*) is in Ghent. These, like the Steiner Association, appeal increasingly to professional middle-class parents, especially teachers, with 'advanced' views. The Steiner Association, also based in Ghent, now has 21 schools, four of which are all- through, including one 'special school'. The Association has grown by a quarter in the nineties but much less spectacularly than in Holland.

Addresses will be found in Appendix 1.

5. The role and status of the independent sector and its future prospects

As Article 17 of the Belgian Constitution makes clear freedom of choice and equality of opportunity are the dominant factors giving shape and purpose to educational law and the system it controls. In all three communities citizens and associations of all kinds are free to establish and organise schools and receive, subject to quite minimum controls, subsidies on largely similar terms to both the community and the provincial and municipal schools which form what may be called the 'state sector'. This regime, by making grants for salaries and running expenses, largely secures freedom of parental choice regardless of income but, as in Holland, neither gives them complete parity with the 'state' sector nor allows them scope for educational experiment and the variety needed to offer a really extensive choice. The schools have for a long time argued that, in addition to this limitation, the cost of maintenance, teaching aids and materials and improvements to premises and equipment is only partially reimbursed from public funds.

The most real threat to the future of Belgian independent schools and to their educational viability is therefore financial. Belgium is, by reason of its basic policies, which include free education until 18+, amongst the highest spenders on education within the OECD area. Like its neighbours it faces the need for a disproportionate increase in the education budget if it is to provide adequate facilities for new patterns of teaching, finance research to support new teaching methods and above all, attract and train teachers of quality and so resolve what has been called *le malaise enseignant*. A *corps enseignant* whose median age has in the French Community risen from 37 to 41 through early retirement is not well-equipped to cope with new demands and new training. There is little chance of new money for the independent sector in the face of a growing deficit in the budget for education, though it may expect rather more favoured-nation treatment in Flanders than in Wallonia. The price of real equality of opportunity to choose, which is the keystone of the Belgian system, may well be further loss of the ability to experiment and innovate. Nevertheless independent subsidised schools, whose main function is to offer the freedom of choice which is central to Belgian educational thinking, are felt to have the edge on the neutrality of the two 'state' sectors because they can count normally on greater involvement of parents, staff and pupils and on parental willingness to contribute financially to offset some of their shortages and encourage innovation. Their facilities are often not better than those of state schools and standards in both are far from lavish in comparison with Europe generally. Some Catholic schools doing valuable work in downtown areas are indeed spartan.

Unlike a practice which still lingers in the UK, the name and type of the school attended counts for little in later life compared with university and other higher educational qualifications, but the bulk of middle-class professional and business people have attended an independent school and wish their children to do the same. Some Catholic parents send their children to downtown schools on grounds of conscience. On what may be termed the 'elitist scale' independent schools in the Low Countries rate very low indeed. In Belgium they believe that the reforms established in the revised Constitution have strengthened the guarantees of freedom of choice, conscience, variety and equality of opportunity but they are not confident of further easement. In terms of variety it is not altogether an advantage that, with all their valuable strengths and qualities, the Catholic schools so far outweigh their colleagues in numbers and influence.

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DENMARK

The national background and constitutional safeguards

The tradition of independent education in Denmark is of long standing and reflects deep convictions about liberty of choice and respect for individual views and beliefs which have long manifested themselves in many different aspects of Danish life. It has resulted in the creation of what the Danes often term a 'grey zone' consisting of a wide range of educational institutions at all levels, which are partly subsidised by government at the cost of comparatively gentle controls. Grundtvig's folk high school movement, which began in the 1840s, itself originally designed for young adults from rural areas, inspired the foundation by Kristen Kold of a new pattern of independent school in 1851. From this there developed an independent sector at basic level whose legality as an alternative system of education during the compulsory years and at upper secondary level is confirmed in article 76 of the constitution of 1963 and subsequent revisions. The article establishes the right of parents and guardians to use the state system or to provide education comparable to but outside it either in an independent school or at home.

Denmark is a constitutional monarchy whose governments, chosen by proportional representation, are normally coalitions or minority governments, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church is established as the national church.

As the diagram makes clear, compulsory education is from 7-16 but there is some provision for pre-school instruction from very early years under the Ministry of Social Affairs. The anchor-point in the state system is the *folkeskolen* which provides nine years of compulsory primary and lower-secondary education with an optional tenth year, taken by 50% of pupils, mainly those who do not go on to gymnasium or to vocational training. *Folkeskoler* are fully comprehensive and class teaching without streaming by ability is the norm, with the same teacher often remaining with the class through the earlier years of the course. Pupils are promoted automatically year by year without reference to performance. Schools and individual teachers have some freedom to plan their own educational programme including syllabus content, teaching times and methods, provided they conform to guidelines laid down centrally by the Ministry and are approved by the Municipal Council in its capacity as Local Education Authority, of which there are 175 in all. They are, however, required to include Danish, maths, PE and religious studies in the curriculum at all stages.

The Municipal Council is ultimately responsible for appointments and promotions of staff and for approval of curricula as well as planning, though much is delegated to School Boards.

At the end of the nine-year course leavers take the Ministry leaving examination - *folkeskolens afgangsprøve* - which is set and marked by the Ministry and there is a more advanced examination for those who stay on for the tenth year course. There is no pass mark and pupils have some choice of which and how many subjects they take. Only about 8% of leavers cease formal education. About a third of leavers opt for a three year Gymnasium or a two-year Higher Preparatory Examination Course (HF) leading to tertiary courses. Others go on to a wide range of more practical vocational and technical courses.

The Municipal Council is ultimately responsible for appointments and promotions of staff as well as for future planning, though much is delegated to School Boards. Teachers have four years training in specialised Teacher Training Colleges for the basic stage. Teachers at upper secondary level must have university degrees.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. Controls and financial aid

Successive Danish governments have long legislated to ensure impartial financial support to a variety of broadly educational independent, non-profit-making and self-governing institutions regardless of educational philosophy and religious beliefs, provided they reach at least adequate standards comparable to those of the state-controlled *folkeskoler*. In the past this has involved elaborate controls based on practices in state schools and similar institutions but in the late eighties and early nineties legislation has been enacted for a different system of financial subsidy under a capitation system which is in Ministry parlance 'result-oriented', is nick-named the 'taximeter system' and allows a wide range of self-governing institutions, whether or not they have an equivalent in the state sector, more nearly complete freedom to manage their own concerns.

There is a long list of self-governing institutions ranging from technical colleges, folk-high schools, commercial and continuation schools to the independent school sector.

The school sector comprises pre-primary classes, 'basic' schools called *grundskoler* which are similar in range to the state *folkeskoler*, some of which are experimental schools or *Lilleskoler*, 'little schools', details of which are set out in a later section, and gymnasia.

Schools have free choice of educational philosophy and religious adherence and are normally founded by groups of parents to meet their special educational interests or to serve a confessional, political or philosophical allegiance. Teaching methods and subject syllabi are not tied to the Ministry's guideline curricula. The neutrality of government allows state support for socialist-based schools alongside confessional schools and ethnic establishments such as the Moslem school in Copenhagen and the German minority schools in Southern Jutland.

Schools in the independent sector are at present controlled by the Act on Private Independent Schools of 1992 which applies to both grant-aided and unsubsidised schools. It lays down detailed and at times novel rules for their management including a requirement that 'it is the duty of parents to ensure that the instruction meets the usual standard of the state *folkeskole*.'

Government is required to provide its aid in the form of a general operational grant intended to cover running costs, extra-curricular activities, in-service training and, if applicable, boarding, together with an annual building grant. There is also a special grant for German minority schools where teaching is given in two native languages. The Municipal Council (LEA) may supplement these grants and help with capital expenditure. 67% of funding comes from state grants, 5% from special grants for transport, etc., 19% from fees and 9% from other sources such as interest.

There are also simple regulations for schools which are not grant-aided and for home tuition. A small number of basic schools fall into this category, sometimes for a short period only.

Subsidised schools are required to provide special tuition where needed and teaching for pupils absent from school for a long period through illness. Until recently teachers have been pensionable civil servants but new appointments will in future negotiate contracts covering pay, rights and pensions with the National Association of Local Authorities.

Control is exercised by a unique system under which parents are responsible for supervising the school's effectiveness. For Danish, English and mathematics, the key subjects, they either elect for a four year period an inspector, who must not be involved in the school, or delegate inspection to the Municipal Council. The inspector is required to give an annual

certificate to parents and governors stating whether or not the standard of work is as good as that normally found in the *folkeskole*.

'Basic' schools (*Grundskoler*) vary in size from 15 to 1,000 pupils. The total subsidy for the independent sector, on the 'taximeter' principle, normally covers about 75% of average expenditure per pupil in the state system, leaving 25% of costs to be recovered from fees or other sources, as does the second taximeter subsidy for building expenses. The money is distributed between individual schools taking into account size, staffing costs and intake and is weighted towards the smaller schools. A few schools have a boarding section. Boarding pupils attract an extra subsidy but must pay considerable extra fees.

To qualify for help in founding a school a group of parents or interested persons must show only that they have suitable premises, have appointed a principal, can muster at least 20 pupils and can contribute adequately to costs not covered by the subsidy. Before a provisional grant is awarded they must also satisfy local building and safety requirements.

The 21 gymnasias, HF colleges and upper secondary schools, often combined in the same institution with a 'basic school', are at these levels more closely subject to Ministry control and more closely resemble their state counterparts in curricula, number of lessons per subject, admissions and professional qualifications of teachers. They retain the final right of decision about admission to advanced courses, candidates being classed as acceptable, possible or unsuitable as in the state system. With increasing competition for entry some schools now accept candidates only with top grades in the 16+ leaving examination. 45% of their pupils are boys, a normal ratio in Denmark. One famous school in Copenhagen, Zahle's Academy, has a teacher-training wing. Most independent gymnasias are small and do not offer the same range of subjects as their state equivalents.

Some 18 independent schools have boarding sections. A few of them, notably *Sorø* and *Herlufsholm Kosteskole og Gymnasium*, are old and highly esteemed foundations with something in common with the older English 'public schools'. Many boarding places are taken up and paid for by local authorities for children from broken homes or with some other special need.

The Little Schools, the Evangelical Christian Schools and Steiner Schools have different programmes based on their own pedagogical principles and beliefs with the approval of the Ministry.

Of the denominational schools 24 are Catholic, most of them large and in areas where Catholics were formerly concentrated, though the majority of their intake does not come from Catholic homes. Confessional Protestant schools are numerous and not strongly denominational, while the Evangelical Free Church Schools' programme is strictly Bible-based.

There are no restrictions on the employment of teachers in independent schools, except at upper secondary level, and it is clear that, with characteristic Danish individualism, general character and personality is often felt to be more important than certificates and diplomas. Salaries are not dependent on the kind of qualification held except in the gymnasium.

2. Statistics

In 1996 approximately 77,400 boys and girls, nearly 13% of the total in the basic school group from age 6 to 16, were educated in 430 independent schools with the equivalent of 6,200 full-time teachers, a proportion which has increased steadily from 5.7% in 1973, but at gymnasium level numbers have dropped by more than half as the state system has expanded. There are now 21 independent gymnasias and/or HF and upper secondary schools out of a national total of 142. They educate 3,466 students and have 450 teachers. Two are

'pure' upper secondary schools, thirteen combine upper secondary and basic stages, one has a 'continuation' school, one has an additional adult upper secondary course and Higher Preparatory Examination courses, three have only adult upper secondary courses. Two are privately owned and 19 are private foundations.

The distribution of independent schools is uneven and they tend to be concentrated in the capital, Copenhagen, and in urban areas. Dissatisfaction with the folkeskole, the closing of small schools and the growing attraction of choice between several varieties of independent education account for the increase at basic level.

Teacher pupil ratios in the basic school are 11.4:1 and in the gymnasium 7.7:1.

3. Management and control.

The umbrella organisation, *Frie Grundskolers Fællesråd* (FGF), The Independent Schools Joint Council, was founded 26 years ago by 7 school associations and 1 teacher association at a time of crisis for independent schools. Like the British ISJC it now also represents the interests of the employers -i.e. the school governors or councils. It is responsible for negotiation with government, for policy on broad educational issues and finance including problems arising from decentralisation, for wages and conditions of employment and for the dissemination of educational information from Europe and elsewhere. It also provides management and other services. Through its Secretary-General it operates as the Secretariat for ECNAIS, the European Council for National Associations of Independent Schools. It is not concerned with pedagogical methods which are the preserve of its member associations. Its member school-associations, now seven in all, are:

Danmarks Realskoleforening, an association of 101 lower secondary schools, 30,000 pupils and 2,800 teachers..

Deutscher Schul- und Sprachverein für Nord-Schleswig with 16 basic schools, 1 continuation school and one gymnasium and 1,250 pupils in all.

Foreningen af Katolske Skoler i Danmark with 21 schools, 7,800 pupils and 650 teachers. 4/5 of the pupils are non-Catholic.

Foreningen af private selvejende Gymnasieskoler, Studenter- og HF-kurser with 22 schools and 4,000 pupils

Lilleskolerne Sammenslutning, with 40 anti-authoritarian free schools

Landesforeningen til Oprettelse af Kristne Friskoler, with 28 undogmatic Christian schools, 7 continuation schools and one gymnasium and roughly 4,300 pupils.

The teacher-association is *Frie Grundskolers Lærerforening*.. It provides many of the services of a teachers' union.

The *Dansk Friskole Forening*, which was formerly a member of FGF is now a separate organisation with 200 schools and 17,000 pupils.

4. Fees and costs

Fees are set by individual schools and may vary from class to class or be uniform throughout. The range at compulsory level is from DK2,400 to DK 11,000 per annum for day pupils. Boarders in the boarding sections (*Kostafdelinger*) of the 18 partly boarding schools pay on average about DK 150,000 per annum. Parents in need may receive a subsidy of about DK11,000 from the state. Many schools budget to provide some free or partly free places to assist cases of hardship as a means of supplementing the somewhat meagre allowances for the same purpose from government.

At Upper Secondary level fees average about DK10,000.

6. The status and future of the independent sector

Nowhere in Europe is the role of independent schools and their importance for maintaining freedom of parental choice and the right to pursue different aims and beliefs more firmly established than in Denmark. The liberal and tolerant attitudes in education which found their first expression in Gruntvig's Folk High Schools have helped to establish independent enterprise as a virtually undisputed element in the national provision of education and to emphasise the importance both of parental freedom to choose and of their responsibility for

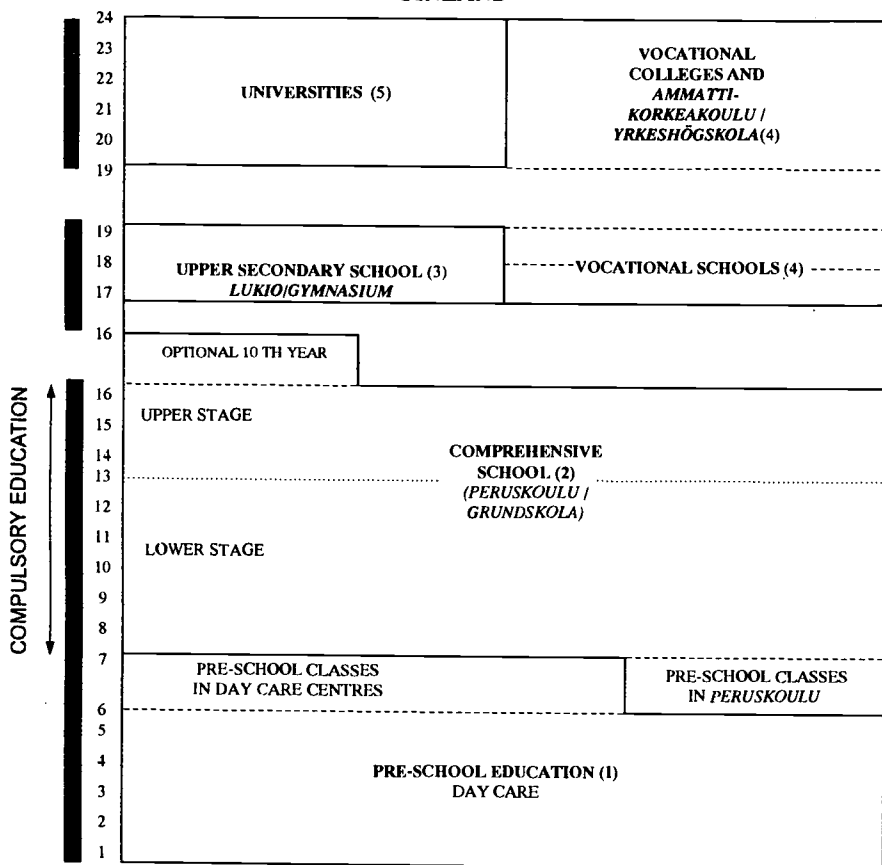
the educational standards of the schools to which their children go. The nearest parallel is the Republic of Ireland, where parents have under the constitution the main responsibility for educating their children, but, because of the predominance of the Catholic Church, the degree of variety and choice there is much less wide and there is a stronger element of central control. In good measure this freedom to choose is due to the sedulous neutrality of government in giving generous aid to independent and free schools of all kinds and by so doing ensuring freedom of access to a majority of the population at comparatively low personal cost.

There is general support for independent schools from both left and right in Parliament. There is nothing incompatible, for example, as there is in the UK, France and Spain, between the use of independent education and the profession of, for example, socialist beliefs and values, and a particular school may well be chosen because its objectives and methods are sympathetic to them. While most pupils come from middle- and lower-middle-class homes the modest fees encourage working-class parents to economise on luxuries to afford the small cost in fees. The government free-place fund also helps to broaden recruitment. When the proportion of children attending independent schools stood at 10% there were fears that any further increase might provoke a more critical reaction, but after a steady increase to 12% and 13% in the nineties these fears have proved unfounded. Enquiries have risen by 25% in this period.

The more academic schools in middle-class areas, with their selected and well-motivated clientele, are seen as privileged because they normally achieve better results in terms of admission to higher education than do many state schools; but it is important to remember that many other independent schools, and especially the smaller and experimental ones, are sought after because they concentrate on programmes and methods which are less formal and academic than those in the state system, while state schools with whom they share considerable freedom to shape their own time-tables and methods, must still conform to the accepted norms. There is little evidence that going to an independent school gives any direct social advantages in career or in life generally in addition to the natural ones of home background and education. There seems little danger that government policy or public opinion in favour of choice in education will change radically in the future, though the issues of privilege and standards are the subject of lively debate in a society which sets great store both on individual liberty and on equality of opportunity. The greatest danger is that for a small country with limited resources it will become increasingly difficult to finance a welfare economy which, as it is, imposes a crushingly high burden of taxation on the individual citizen to attain its social goals. As a result independent education could become increasingly expensive and exclusive. New legislation at the beginning of the nineties has, nevertheless, increased parity with the state system, evidenced in the extension of the taximeter system of financing to both the public and private sectors, and has provided higher subsidies for small schools. There is some reason to think, too, that government is anxious that state schools should not be encouraged to opt for independence. The most difficult problem for the independent schools is the provision of capital for new schools and for building and improvements and they are turning increasingly to the private sector for the necessary funds.

It is not unfair to say that the Danish system, by balancing a high degree of freedom of choice both for schools and for parents at a relatively low cost in fees opens up a wider range of possibilities both to educators and to parents than is achievable when government undertakes the full cost of independent education in return for stricter conformity with the regulations governing their state sectors.

FINLAND



1. The main forms of day care are the kindergarten/day care centres (*Päiväkoti/Daghem*) for children up to the age of 6, and family day care. 6- to 7-year-olds can follow pre-school education in day care centres or in comprehensive schools.
2. *Peruskoulu*, the comprehensive school, lasts nine years, but can also provide pre-school education for six-year-olds and an optional tenth year for those who have completed their compulsory education.
3. *Lukio*, the upper secondary school, provides three years of general education leading to the national matriculation examination.
4. Basic vocational training (2-3 years) is given in multidisciplinary or specialized vocational schools. Higher vocational education (3-5 years) is usually given at specialized colleges which can be entered either after comprehensive school or (usually) after completed secondary level studies. Apprenticeship is provided as an alternative route to these qualifications. *Ammattikorkeakoulu* is a new *Fachhochschule*-type institution of higher vocational education whose 3- to 4- year programmes lead to an academic degree.
5. The basic university degree (Master's degree) consists of three stages and takes 5-6 years to complete.

..... = division in the level/type of education
 ----- = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education.

FINLAND

The national background.

While it has much in common with its Scandinavian neighbours - and especially with Sweden - not only geographically but in political and social patterns of life, Finland's history and development and above all its language, which has Estonian and more distantly Hungarian affiliations, set it apart from the main stream. Both history and climate have helped to shape an unusually tough, resilient and able society which has survived and even in a sense triumphed over Russian attempts at total annexation. Finnish Protestantism, dating from the 16th century and with its Finnish version of the Bible, remains a key element in social consciousness and a potent influence in personal life.

The history of the Finnish school system goes back to the Middle Ages when Finland was Roman Catholic. During the 19th century both state schools and schools founded by private persons were added to the schools established by the church. The Primary School Act of 1886 stipulated that public instruction was the responsibility of the municipalities. Education became compulsory only in 1921 under a 'parallel schools' system in which some pupils completed their education in primary school and others were transferred to secondary school after four years in primary school. Most secondary schools were private. When this system was abolished in 1968 there were 364 private secondary schools in Finland.

The system was reformed on comprehensive lines during a decade of radicalism characterised by rigid policies of centralisation; and although the Finnish constitution authorises parental choice and the right to found independent schools the new system was designed to abolish the independent sector. Most independent secondary schools were brought under municipal ownership and after some bitter fighting only about 30 schools were able to preserve their independent status. The struggle left a legacy of suspicion, bitterness and obstructive behaviour which even now persists in left-wing circles, though governmental and municipal authorities usually show a very constructive attitude towards private educational establishments.

The reform followed the pattern of the Swedish system. As the diagram makes clear, compulsory education lasts for nine years. Some 100,000 pupils attend day-care and pre-school classes. A nine- or ten-year comprehensive school (*Peruskoulou*) from ages 7 to 16 caters for primary and junior secondary stages and is followed at upper-secondary level by a 3-year general academic course with specialist options from 17-19 attended by roughly half the age-group or by a variety of vocational courses lasting from 2-5 years. A matriculation examination at 19+ admits some 47% of leavers to higher education, the remainder going on to vocational training or entering employment. Schools have their own governing bodies, often but not compulsorily with elected representatives of teachers, school personnel, parents or guardians and older students. Comprehensive schools are administered by a municipal education office, subject to overall control by the Ministry of Education and its regional offices. The curricula and organisation of upper secondary schools are laid down by the National Board of General Education but municipalities are, under new legislation of 1991, now free to draw up their own curricula subject to these controls. Further decentralisation followed in 1994 and in 1996 a new report aims at further liberalisation by legislation if Parliament so decides.

The same freedom, of course, applies to the independent sector. While academic standards are higher at upper secondary level, especially in languages, mathematics and the sciences,

the official objectives stress not so much academic attainment as social purpose - 'to foster students into becoming harmonious, physically fit, independent, autonomous, creative and peace-loving individuals and members of society', and stress the importance of cooperation and support from home.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR.

1) Control and organisation.

Freedom of parental choice and variety in education are firmly established in the Constitution, as is the right of home-schooling, and Finland has signed the various international declarations of human rights and incorporated them into Finnish law. Until the 1970s the state was slow to found its own schools and independent schools, which multiplied with the help of state subsidies, were the main source of education. The establishment of a comprehensive system described above led to state takeovers of the majority of independent schools by municipal authorities, with the result that by 1983 they numbered only 40, most of them with an upper-secondary department (*gymnasium*) attached. A separate law of 1977 authorised subsidies for three Steiner schools, though some 15 more were to be found throughout the country, most of them very small. Separate legislation also authorises the International School of Helsinki, the English and German schools and 12 Finnish schools overseas. There is also a single Jewish school in Helsinki and a Seventh Day Adventist boarding school.

Subsidised schools.

Subsidised schools are under contract with municipal authorities. They may not charge fees but may receive donations to finance capital projects. They are funded partly from municipal and partly from state funds. Salaries are settled by bargaining at national level, but since they account only for about 70% of the total budget, good administration can give some scope for special projects and for experiment. Any surplus in the year's working is at the school's disposal but a deficit must be made up by fund-raising or in some other way. Schools appoint their own school boards, which in turn appoint staff, control finance and set out the general aims and outlines for the curriculum and extra curricular activities. For most independent schools catchment areas are strictly limited by negotiation with the municipality concerned.

New legislation in 1985 and 1991 noted above gave more scope for local initiative in education and increased the administrative authority of independent schools and their freedom to experiment. The Ministry of Education also amended the law in February 1991 to sanction the establishment of new, so-called 'alternative schools' if their new programmes were based on an acknowledged international pedagogical concept and the municipal authority signified its support.

2. The Finnish Association of Private Schools.

The Association was founded in 1935 and is open to independent schools of all kinds. It numbers some 36 members, many of them among the 'top' schools. Though the majority are old 'grammar schools' they include an Adventist school, the Jewish school and four of the eighteen Steiner schools, more of which will join in the near future. The Association is active in negotiation with the authorities and an accepted partner in educational policy making.

3. Statistics.

The total school population at primary and lower-secondary levels (i.e. in comprehensive schools) is 588,162. Upper secondary pupils number 155,723. Roughly 1.5% of comprehensive pupils attend independent schools and of the 50% of their age group who go on to *gymnasia* 5.3% are in the independent sector.

Schools:

Schools in membership of the Finnish Association of Private Schools are organised as follows:

combined primary, secondary and upper-secondary grades	11
primary and secondary only	6
secondary only	1
secondary and upper-secondary	12
upper-secondary only	<u>6</u>
Total of member schools	<u>36</u>

Costs per pupil in 1995 in state and independent schools were as follows:

comprehensives	FM 21,423
Upper-secondary schools	FM 17,795
Vocational	FM 30,033 to FM 86,000.

4. The role and future status of independent schools.

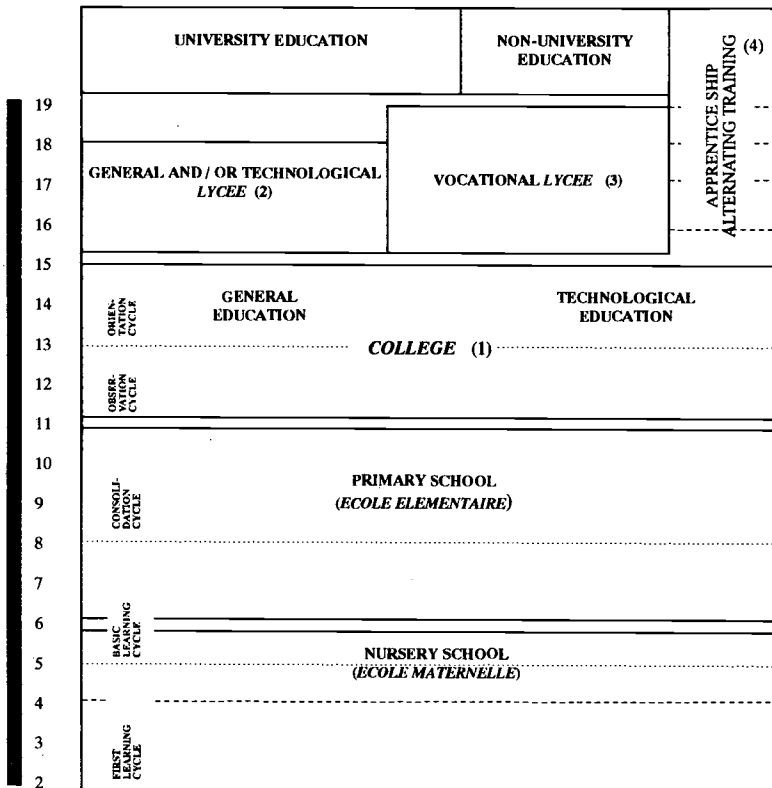
After three decades of struggle to maintain their status and standards in the face of hostility from municipal authorities, Finnish independent schools which have links with the state patterns and receive subsidy are now accepted and recognised both at central and local levels as a small but efficient sector of the national provision for education which is notable for better than average results both academically and pastorally. Like the state system, it is open to all regardless of parental income and its pupils are in cross-section very similar to those attending state schools, but parents are in a sense a self-electing élite which values the educational and pastoral advantages of independence. Many supporters argue, as in the UK and elsewhere, that the pursuit of equality by legislation has resulted in mediocrity at the expense of genuine choice, especially in terms of faith, variety, and excellence, and feel that some of the creative power of the independent schools has been exhausted by a frustrating struggle for survival. The restriction of variety which results from government policy elsewhere is in Finland to some extent mitigated by the regulations governing freedom of religious education in the state system. These appear to satisfy the needs of professed Protestant families and those belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church who in other countries, with the Catholics, look to separate confessional schools for their children's education. On the other hand the schools' virtually complete dependence on state funding still sets a high premium on innovation and experiment, though recent legislation is felt by schools and parents to have opened the way to greater independence in educational policy and methods and to have given them, even more than the state schools, a new sense of freedom. Furthermore the existence of the independent schools has clearly had its effect on the development of the state system and new legislation under consideration in 1996 gives hope of further liberalisation. While the schools look forward to the future with renewed vigour they are mindful of the importance of involvement in the political debate to ensure a positive result which will give them increased opportunities for development and experiment.

Despite the limitations imposed by the present conditions of subsidy, independent schools are much sought after by reason of their good community spirit, the quality of their teaching staff and a high level of academic attainment. Compared with Norway and Denmark the sector is still less well-placed to offer genuine variety of choice of different educational and pedagogical philosophies but there is now some real hope that government policy will be less restrictive on this score. Furthermore the schools have justified their claim to difference and variety by demonstrating their institutional responsibility and by proving that they can operate effectively at lower cost than municipal schools. Finns are naturally orderly people with a strong sense of national unity, something which does much to explain the comparatively slow but nevertheless continuing liberalisation of their educational system.

FRANCE

FRANCE

COMPULSORY EDUCATION



1.The *Collège* provides general education at lower secondary level leading to a national certificate (*Brevet*). The orientation cycle includes both general and technological education.

2.The general and/or technological *Lycée* provides upper secondary education leading to higher education or employment. Pupils prepare for the general *Baccalauréat*, which usually leads to higher education, the technological *Baccalauréat* (B.Tn), which leads either to employment or to higher education, or the technical certificate (*brevet de technicien, BT*), which generally leads to employment. The preparatory classes for the *grandes écoles* (*classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles, CPGA*) and the higher technical sections (*sections de techniciens supérieurs, STS*) in *Lycées* provide post-*Baccalauréat* training.

3.The vocational *Lycée* is an institution of secondary education providing young people with general technological and vocational training. It leads after two years to the vocational aptitude certificate (*certificat d'aptitude professionnelle, CAP*) or the vocational studies certificate (*brevet d'études professionnelles, BEP*), and, after two additional years, to the vocational *Baccalauréat*.

4.These courses can be entered between the age of 16 and 25. Apprenticeship training lasts two years. Alternating training: qualification contracts last six months minimum, 24 months maximum; adaptation contracts last six months minimum; and guidance contracts last from three to six months.

..... = division in the level / type of education

----- = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education

FRANCE

The national background

Until the revolution the Catholic church had a virtual monopoly of education, though not without competition from lay schools founded by royalty and municipalities jealous of its predominance. The 17th century brought Lutheran colleges, mainly located in the East, in fierce competition with the 124 Jesuit colleges founded between 1556 and 1764, when the order was banished. During the revolution clerics could only remain in post if they swore allegiance to it but the right of all citizens to open a school remained until it was overruled by the Consulate in 1802, when the state established a brief monopoly. There followed a century and a half of fierce dispute between clericals and anti-clericals, marked only by occasional attempts at compromise and an increasingly strong hold over education by the State through centralised control of curricula, teachers and examinations. In 1958 General de Gaulle set about democratising and reconstructing a highly élitist system, which was overwhelmingly biased towards the humanities, to match the needs of a technological age and of individual talents. He invited the independent, mainly Catholic schools to become partners with the State in the new enterprise at a time when they were very hard-pressed financially. This process of renewal culminated in the Haby reforms of 1975 which were intended to replace separate, selective kinds of education from 11 to 15 by what were called *collèges uniques*. In principle these are comprehensive middle-schools, but as the diagram shows, they have been streamed in the second two-year 'orientation' cycle into academic and technological training which includes preparation for the world of work. From 1995/6 the two cycles have been replaced by three cycles - one year of observation, two of consolidation and one of orientation. Compulsory education ceases at sixteen though the more able leavers at this age, may stay on for a first year lycée course in a vocational lycée which prepares students for the CAP (*Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle*). Those assessed by their teachers as capable spend three years either at a general or technological lycée where they study for one of the three types of general, the four types of technological or the three special baccalaureats for applied arts, music, dance and the hotel industry, or enrol at a less prestigious *lycée professionnelle* which requires only two years of study. The terminal lycée class mirrors first year university courses to aid choice. M. Jospin, when Minister of Education, set an optimistic target of 80% entrance to the reorganised *bac* which gives automatic right of entry to most areas of higher education, where as a result the already high failure and drop-out rates (54% in the first year) have swollen further.

In what is still, despite 'comprehensive' reforms and some real increase in parental choice, a highly centralised and élitist system, the most able, who are aiming at the *grandes écoles*, overwhelmingly opt for science and mathematics as their specialist combination in the examination. Though some authority has recently been devolved to regional and local authorities and in matters of organisation and teaching methods to secondary schools the Ministry continues to exercise a very dominant role.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. The legal and constitutional position

The principle of freedom in education under French law, which was reconfirmed in the constitution of 1958 as one of the fundamental principles of the Republic alongside the requirement that the public system should be both free and 'lay' at all stages, has been

repeatedly upheld by court judgements, notably by a decision of the Constitutional Council in November 1977. France is a signatory of the various international and European Declarations of Human Rights. This has not prevented the continuation of the long-standing *guerre scolaire* between anti-clerical politicians and teachers' unions and the Catholic Church - a war which, as will be explained in section 5, is still endemic in French society. De Gaulle's offer of partnership to the independent sector within the national pattern of education, involving for the first time subsidy from public funds, was embodied in two laws which form the legal basis of the present relationship of the vast majority of independent schools with the state - the *Loi Debré* of December 1st 1959 (59/1557) and the *Loi Guerneur* of 1977. In its first article the *Loi Debré* guaranteed the independence of all private schools subject to unobjectionable minimum controls and went on to provide for partial subsidies to those which chose to accept one of the two types of contract involving a degree of state control of curriculum, staffing and examinations. It also began a process, continued in the *Loi Guerneur*, of ensuring parity of salaries and pensions in state and independent schools. The acceptance of either contract (*contrat simple/contrat d'association*) required schools to guarantee liberty of conscience to all pupils and to admit them without distinction of origin, opinion or belief.

To qualify for *contrat simple*, which since 1980 has been open only to primary schools and applies to about half their total numbers, a school must normally have been in existence for five years. The head retains the right to appoint staff, who must have equivalent qualifications to those of teachers in similar schools in the state sector but unlike them are employed by the school. Pupil numbers must also conform to state norms. Provided the conditions are fulfilled, acceptance by the Ministry is automatic. The State pays the cost of salaries including social taxes. Running expenses may by agreement be subsidised by a friendly communal authority, though these are increasingly rare.

For *association*, schools at both primary and secondary levels must fulfil the same conditions as for *contrat simple* and meet a 'recognised need' - *besoin scolaire reconnu* - in their foundation purposes, for example a Christian or a Montessori philosophy of education. Recognition may therefore be and has been disputed. Government subsidy (*forfait d'externat*) includes in addition to teachers' salaries a capitation fee per pupil for running expenses and the cost of salaries of non-teaching personnel on the same terms as those in state schools. Teachers become public servants employed under personal contract by the state and are appointed on the head's nomination by the regional *Recteur d'Académie*, who can nominate his own candidates if the school fails to find suitable ones. Schools must work in accordance with the state curricula and time-tables. Schools under both kinds of contract are subject to control by the inspectorate and by public audit.

The immensely complicated details of the controls involved in the contracts are analysed and explained in *La Liberté de l'Enseignement - Guide Juridique de l'Enseignement privé associé à l'État par contrat*. Nicole Fontaine. UNAPEC. 1978.

Aided schools under contract, being non-profit-making (*sans but lucratif*), are exempted from all taxes.

2. Statistics

The statistical branch of the national Ministry of Education publishes very detailed studies about both pupils and teachers at each level of education in both state and aided independent schools from pre-school to upper secondary levels in Metropolitan France, with, inevitably, some time-lag which varies from level to level.

Their figures for *le premier degré*, which includes both pre-school and primary levels, show that in 1994 within Metropolitan France there was a total of 54,264 state schools with 5,643,451 pupils as against 5,969 subsidised schools with 893,578 pupils in the independent

sector. Both sectors have shown a steady decline in numbers since the eighties for demographic reasons despite an overall increase in the number of three- and four-year olds attending nursery or pre-elementary school. Numbers in the independent sector form 15.95% of the total school population at this level, and have fallen by 0.8% compared with a fall of 0.2% in the state schools from the previous year's figures. The decline is most noticeable in independent nursery schools (*écoles maternelles*) where state provision has grown rapidly. They now cater for little more than 2% of the age group in school.

There has been an overall decline of 0.7% in both 1993 and 1994 in the combined total numbers of pupils in state and independent sectors in the three cycles of secondary education. Of the total of 5,432,259 at the beginning of the 1995 school year 1,141,965 (20.9%) attended independent schools, a decrease of 1.1% since 1994. There has, in fact, been a steady decline in overall numbers in the independent secondary sector as a whole from roughly 23% in 1986 to 20% of the total in 1995-6, but there have been steeper declines since then in numbers in both the academic and professional second cycles. Though the number of those aiming at professional qualifications in the bac or the new professional bac instituted in 1989 has increased, the proportion from the independent sector has dropped from 24.2% to 21.6%, but there has been some increase in those taking technological courses from 22.6% in 1993-4 to 23.3% in 1994-5.

Table 1 below shows comparative numbers of pupils in state and independent schools at all levels.

TABLE 1.

Level	state	independent	Combined total	indep %
Pre-school	2,217,333	313,353	2,530,856	12.38
Primary	3,426,118	586,555	4,012,673	14.61
Sec.Cycle 1	2,593,278	668,314	3,261,592	20.49
Cycle 2-prof	540,077	148,475	688,552	1.56
Cycle 2-tec	1,165,874	316,241	1,462,115	1.62
Total	9,942,680	2,033,938	11,976,618	16.98

The national figures disguise very marked regional variations in the proportion of pupils in independent schools. The heavily Catholic school regions (*Académies*) of Rennes, Nancy-Metz and Paris have 43%, 41% and 33% respectively of secondary pupils in independent schools compared with 11% in Limoges and 14.4% in Orléans-Tours. In the country as a whole Catholic schools educate about 95% of the pupils in the subsidised independent sector. The remaining 5% consists mainly of Protestant, lay and some 50 Jewish schools under contract, which have their own associations (see section 4 below). Despite the recent influx of French Algerians there are as yet no subsidised Muslim schools, since recognition can only come after five years from foundation but there can be no doubt they will soon appear. About 4% of independent school pupils attend unsubsidised schools overall, though they account for a higher percentage - up to 11% at the final lycée level where they provide crash courses, mainly used by those who have fallen behind in the state system or who wish to resit to obtain a better grade. Establishments providing such special coaching are known as *boîtes à bac*.

b) Fees and subsidies

For primary schools under *contrat simple*, only teachers' salaries and in-service training are

covered by public funds and other costs are met either from fees or by a communal grant, known as *forfait communal*.

Schools under *contrat d'association* at both primary and secondary levels, being state-funded for the greater part of salaries and running expenses (*forfait d'externat*) and 90% of agreed costs of building and equipment, are allowed to charge only a modest fee to supplement the government subsidy and any municipal or communal grants they receive. It is limited by their contract to cover the cost of religious instruction, loan charges, equipment and a building reserve. Fees vary from F1,000 to F10,000 depending on their geographical location. Most Catholic schools scale their charges according to parental means or invite voluntary supplements. Extras like meals, school transport and supervised preparation are expensive in comparison with the public sector. Some national scholarships or bursaries (*bonnes d'études*) may be provided for the less well-off on the same terms as in state schools. Fees in unsubsidised schools range on average from FF25,000 to FF 35,000 per annum. Many schools, especially Catholic ones, have boarding hostels and provision for day-boarders.

3. The Catholic Schools

Catholic education at all levels (including the five Catholic Universities, 25 Training Colleges for primary teachers, twelve institutes for lower secondary teachers and a host of agricultural schools which cater for 60% of this kind of vocational education) is coordinated by the National Committee for Catholic Education (CNEC). Its headquarters in the rue St.Jacques in Paris, sometimes called the second Ministry of Education, shelters a number of organisations - of Catholic parents (*UNAPEL. Union Nationale des Associations des Parents d'Élèves de l'Enseignement Libre*), of teachers, governors, parliamentarians and educationalists - which together form a powerful lobby with an extensive network at regional level. Its political clout, backed by the Catholic hierarchy, was well demonstrated in 1984 when the Socialist Minister of Education attempted to zone recruitment and otherwise diminish the autonomy of schools under contract. Up to 2,000,000 supporters of Catholic schools demonstrated on the streets of Paris with many more in Lyons and other regional centres, forcing the government to back down. CNEC also provides full legal and pedagogical advisory services for Catholic schools and undertakes research. Amongst its most notable enterprises was the foundation in the late seventies of *UNAPEC (Union Nationale pour la Promotion Pédagogique et Professionnelle de l'Enseignement Catholique)* to coordinate initial and in-service training of teachers in Catholic schools. The government in 1979 agreed under its influence to subsidise the training of Catholic teachers by a renewable annual grant to give them parity with teachers in state schools - though this, like other matters, has remained a bone of contention since government has failed to revise its grant upwards to match inflation in recent years. Overall, the Catholic schools received in 1993 13.2 milliards of francs or 13.2% of the national budget for education. The price they pay is to be bound by their contracts firmly to the state system and to be subject to constant attrition from those who favour the lay state alternative. CNEC is nevertheless clearly well-placed to promote the Catholic pattern of education which the faithful cherish and which appeals to many non-Catholics who prefer its ambience and community spirit to that of the strictly secular schools in the state system.

The schools vary greatly in resources, in standards and in the services they provide. Some, especially those at primary level, are under parochial or diocesan control and others are owned and managed by religious orders. By 1991 only 1,025 teachers were in orders; by

contrast, up to the late eighties, 34% of primary and 42% of secondary heads were monks or nuns. 90% of the administrative staffs are now lay - with marked effect on budgets.

Many are all-through schools combining all three levels of education from primary to upper secondary. One educationist, R. Ballion, writing in 1982, described the schools as ranging from the academically excellent, mainly for boys from upper class homes, to less selective and less academic schools mainly catering for girls from the upper classes; 'substitution schools' which provide a refuge from the turmoils of the public system at the cost of less good results; some innovative, mainly primary schools which appeal to progressive parents; and refuge schools in working class areas. Their appeal as a group increasingly extends to non-Catholics who are dissatisfied with or whose children fall behind in the public system or who feel that at some levels they offer a better education than the equivalent state school's single-minded concentration on results. In general terms their popularity, like that of Catholic schools in other countries, is more for their religious and educational ideals, their disciplined community life and the involvement therein of their pupils, staff and parents and the quality of the teaching staff. Furthermore, given their state subsidy and low fees and their accessibility to parents in down-town areas, they offer the possibility of independent education to poor and rich alike.

4. Other groups of independent schools

During the eighties a mixed group of schools, which included subsidised language, international, experimental and Decroly and Montessori schools alongside *lycées* like the sought-after Parisian *École Alsacienne*, formed *La Fédération Nationale des Écoles Privées Laïque sous contrat avec l'État* which claims a pupil total of some 200,000. These schools share with their Catholic equivalents the advantages and disadvantages of the state contract and attract liberals and modernists who do not care for confessional schools.

Other non-confessional schools, some 2,000 in number, belong to *La Fédération Nationale de l'Enseignement Privé Laïque*. Almost all are entirely dependent on fees. A third are in the Paris region and although they include a few primary and secondary schools conforming to the official patterns many of them are coaching establishments for dropouts from the state or subsidised systems or provide crash courses for examinations. Others are specialist schools of dance, gymnastics, commerce and the like.

There are also separate organisations for the 15 or so aided Jewish schools, some of which date back to the 14th century, and for the 11 Steiner schools, whose numbers have grown only slowly in comparison with, for example, Holland and Germany.

5. The status and prospects of the independent sector

Educational debate in France has since the early nineteenth century been polarised around two opposing concepts - the virtues on the one hand of liberal pluralism and parental choice largely based on religious belief and on the other of a single, lay or neutral system under strict control of government - a preference shared in different degree by both left and right-wing governments. The introduction of subsidy by contract under the *Loi Debré* gave the Catholic schools and their lay equivalents for the first time an assured role in the national system of education and helped them to recruit widely from all social groups which shared their ideals but did little to assuage the continuing *guerre scolaire* between the opposing factions.

Despite on-going attack from the left and the anti-clericals, which is unlikely to be resolved, both the Catholic majority and the smaller group of 'lay' schools now have a generally accepted claim to subsidy in return for the acceptance of national patterns of control and

curriculum and are in fact virtually part of the public system, though less completely than their equivalents in Belgium and Holland. They have not, however, achieved the full partnership offered by Debré or full equality of opportunity irrespective of parental income. The Catholic authorities are quick to point this out, arguing that equality of status can only be fully realised if financial hurdles are done away by the provision of subsidies equivalent to full costs; but experience has shown that, especially under a Socialist régime, this would bring with it a further loss of freedom to set their own patterns and standards, as was demonstrated by the government's unsuccessful attempt at zoning and restriction on expansion to meet growing demand for places in the eighties. Though they have since then been forced to adopt the reworked patterns of secondary education and must conform to the state curriculum and examinations, they remain free to be coeducational or single-sex, to choose their own teaching methods and to set their own educational philosophy. For the confessional schools who form the majority and the small number of good 'lay' schools this results in greater stress on the school as a community in which the individual can learn to develop not only his brain but his social and emotional attitudes and beliefs. The involvement of parents and pupils in the community and their commitment alongside the staff to the educational goals for which the school stands ensure a sense of purpose and direction which attracts thoughtful parents of all types in all European countries. There is a very real contrast with the state system whose highly unionised teachers concentrate on academic instruction of a formal kind and do not willingly accept pastoral responsibilities. Furthermore the schools themselves are better placed than those in the state system to adapt to what may be called market forces and to cater for a wide range of parental requirements ranging from that of broad cultural and religious development to an assurance at all cost of success in examinations. President Mitterand's successive governments in the eighties and early nineties continued to proclaim their objective of a 'great unified, lay, public, national system of education' and did all they could to shackle the independent schools by administrative restrictions and refusal of funds for expansion. Minister of Education Savary's defeat and subsequent dismissal as a result of the massive demonstrations organised by the Catholics and their allies in July 1984 left a number of unresolved disputes - for example the proposed abolition of the Saturday session in primary schools at the cost of the free Wednesday allotted to religious instruction, which was defeated by the hierarchy and its supporters, though some schools have accepted the transfer of religious education to Saturday in the face of parental pressure.

A more serious dispute, championed for the independent schools by the parents' organisation, UNAPEC, concerned the government's refusal since 1983 to update the rate of subsidy to compensate for inflation and other increased costs to the detriment of their efficiency, and its initial refusal to allow teachers to be trained for the independent sector in its new University Training Institutes. It was resolved in January 1993 by an agreement between CNEC and government on the recruitment and training of Catholic teachers, ensuring them parity of pay with state teachers and admitting trainees to the new University courses. The agreement does much to restore parity between state and aided independent schools but the suppression by Mitterand of an attempt in 1994 to revise the *Loi Falloux* which limited state subsidy for capital expenditure demonstrates that the embers of the old conflict are very much alive.

Meanwhile evidence is growing that, while in numerical terms the proportion of students in the independent sector overall is subject to no more than very gentle decline, an increasing number of parents make use of both systems at some stage and sometimes more than once in their childrens' education and that these now outnumber those who opt for it at the beginning. The parents of these '*zappeurs*' as they are called are often motivated by delayed promotion

(*redoublement*) in a state school and decision is not always influenced by social class. At the beginning of secondary education it is usually the result of conscious choice in favour of the smaller size, intimacy and discipline of an independent school. Researchers claim that those who benefit most are the children of working-class families.

Both the state and the independent sectors in France, as in Europe generally, are learning to adapt their educational philosophies and methods to the demands of their increasingly pluralist societies but in France the long-standing struggle between those who favour a central, secular and state-controlled system of education and the mainly Catholic proponents of parental choice based primarily on religious allegiance means that educational policy is dominated by two monolithic systems, both under considerable stress, which share a common pattern of organisation and curriculum under strong central control, but are divided by allegiance to two separate creeds - one religious and the other secular. Without a greater recognition of the importance of stimulating a wider variety of choice for parents irrespective of means and of freedom for schools to set educational goals it is hard to see how this struggle can be resolved. Effective as the present system is for the most able, further advance requires not only administrative adaptability and greater sensitivity to personal choice but the acceptance by society generally and the *enarques* in particular of kinds of excellence other than those embodied in the *grandes écoles* and in the prestigious state lycées from which the majority of their recruits come.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

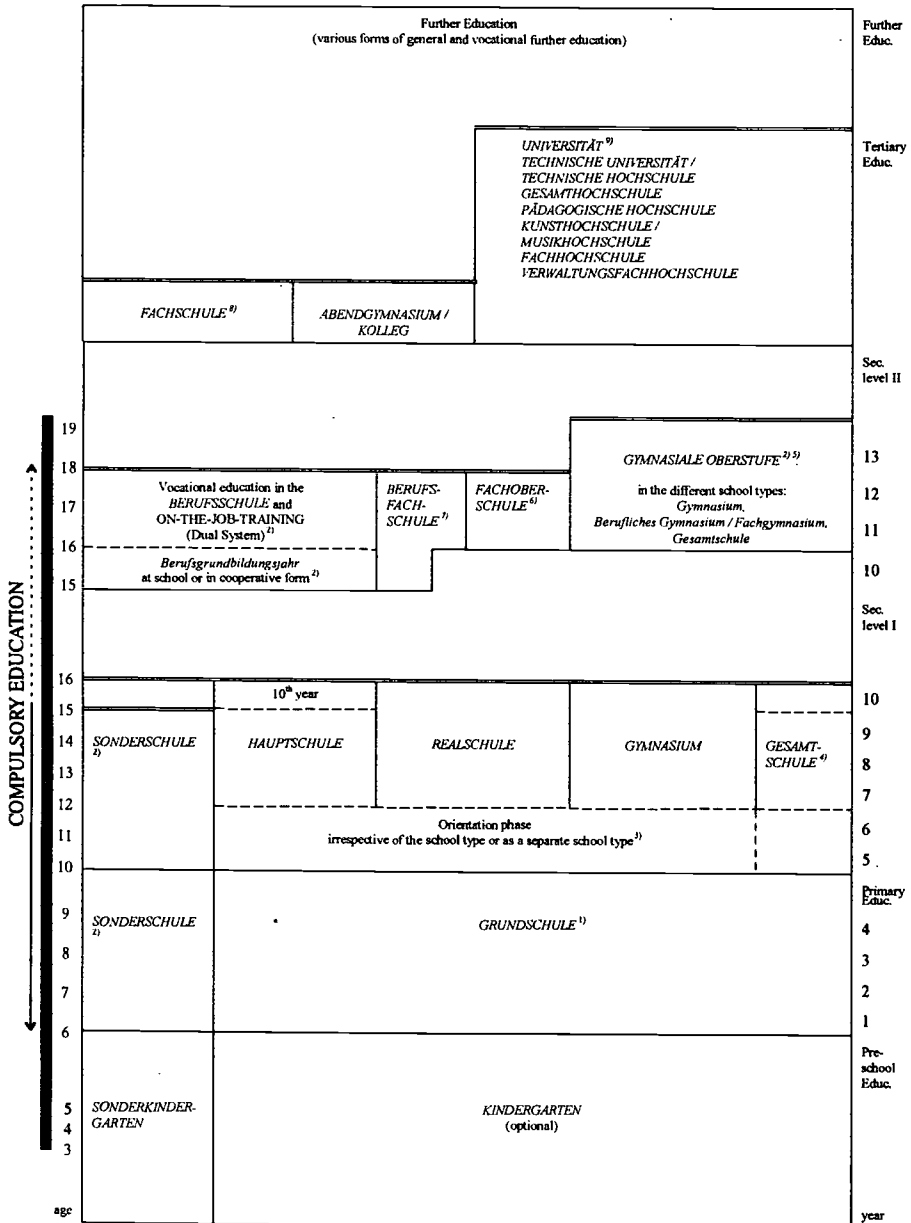


Diagram of the basic structure of the education system. Secondary level I is portrayed in line with the distribution of the school population in 1993: *Hauptschule* 25.6%, *Realschule* 26.1%, *Gymnasium* 31.4%, *integrierte Gesamtschule* 8.9%. Unlike the basic structure presented here, the provision of schools at secondary level I – with the exception of *Sonderschulen* – varying in the different *Länder* includes:

- separate schools which prepare pupils for one of the three school-leaving qualifications, namely the *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* and offered in most *Länder*;
- unified schools which prepare pupils for any one of the three school-leaving qualifications such as in the *kooperative Gesamtschule* and the *Schulzentrum* (a school complex in Bremen), where the *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* are united into a single administrative unit, but pupils are streamed according to their intended final qualification. The *integrierte Gesamtschule* unites the three school types administratively and educationally. Pupils are taught in mixed-ability groups but setting is gradually phased in for some subjects;
- unified schools which prepare pupils for one of two leaving certificates (*Hauptschule* and *Realschule* education) with various names in the different *Länder*, such as the *Mittelschule* (Saxony), the *Regelschule* (Thuringia), the *Sekundarschule* (Saxony-Anhalt, Saarland), the *Integrierte Haupt- und Realschule* (Hamburg), the *Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule* (Hesse) and the *Regionale Schule* (Rhine-land-Palatinate).

The ability of pupils to transfer between school types and the recognition of school-leaving qualifications is basically guaranteed if the preconditions agreed between the *Länder* are fulfilled. The duration of full-time compulsory education (general compulsory education) is 9 years (10 years in four of the *Länder*) and the subsequent period of part-time compulsory education (compulsory vocational education) is 3 years.

1. In some *Länder* there are special types of transition from *Kindergarten* to primary education (*Vorklassen*, *Schulkindergärten*). In Berlin and Brandenburg the primary school comprises 6 years.
2. The disabled attend special forms of general education and vocational school types (in some cases integrated with non-handicapped pupils) depending on the type of disability in question. Designation of schools varies according to the law of each *Land* (*Sonderschule*, *Schule für Behinderte*, *Förderschule*).
3. Irrespective of school type, years 5 and 6 constitute a phase of particular support, supervision and orientation with regard to the pupil's future educational path and its particular focuses. The orientation stage is organized as a separate organizational unit independent of the standard school types in some *Länder*.
4. The *Gesamtschule* is generally provided in accordance with the respective educational laws of the *Länder* as a standard school type or as a special kind of school.
5. Admission to the *Gymnasiale Oberstufe* requires a formal entrance qualification, which can generally be obtained after year 10. Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia have ruled that the formal entrance qualification can be awarded after year 9 at the *Gymnasium*. The *Gymnasiale Oberstufe* can generally be

completed after 13 school years, in four *Länder* (Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania), for a transitional period, after 12 years of schooling.

6. The *Fachoberschule* is a school type lasting two years (11th and 12th years) which takes pupils who have completed the *Realschule* and qualifies them for *Fachhochschule*. School leavers, from the *Berufsaufbauschule* who have acquired concurrently a *Fachschule* qualification during or following initial vocational education can enter the 12th year directly. Pupils who have successfully completed *Realschule* and have been through initial vocational training can also enter the 12th year of the *Fachoberschule* directly. Alternative routes for acquiring the *Fachhochschulreife* are, for example, the *Berufsfachschule* and *Fachschule*.
7. Full-time vocational schools differing in terms of entrance requirements, duration and leaving certificates. Certain two-year *Berufsfachschulen* requiring a *Realschule* certificate for admission lead to a state-recognized qualification as a technical assistant (*staatlich geprüfter Assistent*), and one-year courses at *Berufsfachschule* offer basic vocational training.
8. *Fachschulen* are schools at secondary level II offering courses of between one and three years duration.
9. Including institutions of higher education offering particular disciplines at university level (e.g. theology, philosophy, medicine, administration studies, sport).

Glossary

BERUFSSCHULE: Part-time vocational school at the upper level of secondary education providing general and vocational education for pupils in initial vocational training; special attention is paid to the requirements of training in the dual system (part-time school and on-the-job training).

FACHGYMNASIUM: See *Berufliches Gymnasium*.

FACHHOCHSCHULE: Institution of higher education offering degree programmes, particularly in engineering, economics, administration, social work, agriculture and design. Preparation for employment on the basis of application-oriented teaching and research is the specific training purpose of the *Fachhochschulen*.

FACHOBERSCHULE: Technical secondary school (years 11 to 12) specialized in various areas and providing access to *Fachhochschulen*.

FACHSCHULE: Technical school providing advanced vocational training.

GESAMTHOCHSCHULE-UNIVERSITÄT: Institution of higher education existing in two *Länder* combining functions of the universities, *Fachhochschulen* and, in some cases, colleges of art and music. They offer courses of study of varying duration and leading to different degrees.

GESAMTSCHULE: Comprehensive school existing in two forms: the cooperative comprehensive school combines the schools of the traditional tripartite system under one roof and harmonizes the curricula in order to facilitate the transfer of pupils between the different coexisting types; the integrated comprehensive school admits all pupils of a certain age without differentiating between the traditional school types. A number of the integrated comprehensive schools also have the upper secondary level, organized as the *Gymnasiale Oberstufe*.

GRUNDSCHULE: Primary school marks the beginning of compulsory education, to which all children go together once they have reached the age of six (in general years 1-4). The aim of the primary school is to provide its pupils with the basis for their subsequent education at the lower level of secondary education.

GYMNASIALE OBERSTUFE: Upper level of the *Gymnasium* (normally years 11, 12, 13) providing pupils who pass the final examination (*Abiturprüfung*) with the general university entrance qualification.

GYMNASIUM: Secondary school (normally years 5 to 13) providing intensified general education and conferring the general university entrance qualification. See also *Allgemeine Hochschulreife*.

HAUPTSCHULE: Secondary school – lower level – providing fundamental general education.

KOLLEG: Institution of general education offering day school courses for adults with work experience and the possibility to acquire the *allgemeine Hochschulreife*.

KUNSTHOCHSCHULE: College of art.

MUSIKHOCHSCHULE: College of music.

PÄDAGOGISCHE HOCHSCHULE: Teacher training college which still exists in two *Länder* where teachers are trained for careers in primary and lower secondary as well as in special education. In the other *Länder* courses for the above-mentioned teaching careers are offered by universities, *Universitäten-Gesamthochschulen* and colleges of art and music.

REALSCHULE: Secondary school – lower level, normally years 5-10 – providing extended general education and giving access to upper secondary education where a higher education entrance qualification or a vocational qualification may be obtained.

SONDERSCHULE: Special schools for children with learning disabilities, schools for the blind and visually handicapped, schools for the deaf and hard of hearing, schools for children with speech handicaps, schools for the physically handicapped, schools for mentally handicapped children, schools for children with behavioural problems and schools for sick pupils.

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT / TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE: Technical university.

VERWALTUNGSFACHHOCHSCHULE: Special type of *Fachhochschule* offering degree programmes in public administration which include periods of on-the-job training for future civil servants at the middle level in federal, *Land* or local authorities.

GERMANY

The national background

The absorption of the former German Democratic Republic, the DDR, into the Federal Republic of West Germany in October 1990 added five new Länder to the eleven partially but proudly independent regional authorities of the Bundesrepublik Deutschland and increased its total population to more than eighty million. Despite discussion of constitutional reform to meet a new situation the *Grundgesetz*, the Bundesrepublik's constitution remains unchanged, applies throughout the country, and sets the standards of national life in education as in other respects.

Under the Constitution each Land is responsible for enacting its own educational legislation and planning and administering its educational policies through the responsible Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs. The quite considerable differences between regions are a reflection partly of cultural differences and partly of the different views of the opposing political parties and the strength of their influence in their regional parliaments. Devolution of authority and initiative to local level and to the individual has also gained much ground in Germany as elsewhere in Europe. Nevertheless, the legacy of centralised, hierarchical control and a uniform pattern of administration which marked earlier regimes and was typical of the former German empire is still observable in many aspects of life, alongside very genuine democratic convictions and policies.

This is true of education as of other kinds of policy, although in recent years there has been much discussion of devolution of authority over the control and organisation of the state system to local communities and to what is termed 'the autonomous school', involving the possible transfer of control and inspection to a non-state body, increased authority for heads and the involvement of teachers, parents and pupils in determining school policy. Some moves in this direction have already taken place in Baden-Wurtemberg, Hessen, Niedersachsen and Hamburg.

Some measure of uniformity and cooperation between the Länder in educational policy is achieved through the agency of the Standing Conference of Education Ministers of the Länder (*Kultusministerkonferenz, KMK*) which has a secretariat in Bonn and a number of sub-committees for different areas of education. From 1964 onwards, by agreement between Government and the Länder, there has been a nationally accepted pattern for schools and curricula and for some degree of adaptation designed to broaden opportunity and remove discrimination detrimental to the less able or the socially deprived. An example is the introduction of a two-year 'orientation course' common to all types of secondary curriculum, except in Berlin and Brandenburg where the primary course extends for two years.

As the organisational diagram makes clear, compulsory education runs from the sixth to the eighteenth year, but there is a variation of organisational patterns between different Länder both at lower secondary and upper secondary level. At lower secondary level the *Hauptschule* provides an increasingly unpopular general education of 'Secondary Modern' type from which the majority enter the labour market, while the *Realschule* offers more demanding courses, possibly giving access to Upper Secondary level. The academic *Gymnasium* recruits more able pupils who normally stay on to the upper secondary stage to qualify for university entrance by the *Abitur* examination or to go on to higher technical training in specialist establishments. In the new *Bundesländern* all but one Land have abolished the *Hauptschule* by merging it in different ways with the *Realschule*. In some Länder under left-wing (SPD) control these are subsumed into a comprehensive *Gesamtschule*, a type which has been the

subject of much controversy. Many educationalists and parents still favour the traditional separation into streams according to ability and rely on the possibility of transfer for late-developers to more advanced levels.

The formidable and uniform 13-subject gymnasium course, which was traditional and proved to be too demanding for many of the increasing numbers of pupils aiming at higher education, gave place in the 70s to a modular system with options grouped around a common core, somewhat to the dissatisfaction of the universities, which could no longer count on appropriate qualifications based on results in the *Abitur* for deciding admissions to particular courses. More recently there has been a campaign for shortening the gymnasium course by one year so that students may enter the labour market after graduation at a comparable age to their competitors in other European countries. It has been fiercely opposed by supporters of - as they see it - the successful traditional pattern. Three Länder in the East, *Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt* and *Thüringen* have won temporary agreement lasting until 2000 from the *KMK* for the shortened course. What happens then is not certain but a possible solution is a reorganisation of the syllabus and timetabling for the final three years, leaving schools the option of a twelve-year or a thirteen-year programme.

According to official figures for 1994 for the lower secondary stage 31.2% attended *Gymnasien*, 31.0 *Hauptschulen*, 23.6% *Realschulen* and 8.7% *Gesamtschulen*.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. Constitutional and legal position.

This sector covers a wide range of educational institutions at all levels, some of which fall outside the scope of the present enquiry. The independent/private schools proper, legally entitled *Schulen in freier Trägerschaft*, are known also as *Privatschulen* or - especially the experimental and evangelical schools - as *freie Schulen*. They are exceptional among their counterparts in other countries for the extent of support and protection assured them by the Constitution, a support which stems from the the passionate devotion of the founders of the Federal Republic to the preservation of democratic freedom of choice and mutually supportive pluralism in the educational system.

In Article 7 the *Grundgesetz* or Basic Law specifically guarantees for all regions, amongst other things, public inspection of schools, the establishment of religious education as a required subject and the right of existence of independent schools. Section 4 of this article goes on to state that 'private' schools which are 'comparable to schools in the public system and supplement it' (whence their name *Ersatzschulen*) must be officially licensed and are subject to state law. A licence (*Genehmigung*) may not be refused provided the school satisfies a number of requirements about its aims, premises and the qualifications and terms of employment of its staff. An important further requirement, which has proved to be of major consequence, is that '*there must be no separation of pupils by reason of parental means*'. In 1951 the Standing Conference of Education Ministers (*KMK*) promoted a correlated policy for independent schools based on Article 7 which greatly influenced legislation in the Länder and ensured that, despite differences in educational law and its application, many schools recognised as *Ersatzschulen* which followed either a state pattern or one acceptable to the authorities were granted subsidies from public funds. In 1987 the Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) confirmed earlier decisions that this assistance was in fact a right stemming from the anti-divisive clause in Article 7.3 of the Constitution, a ruling which up till now has not been challenged though the extent of subsidy tends to vary with the political colour of the Land government concerned.

More recently, in the face of increasing economic pressures and lowered subsidies, there has been debate both in the courts and in the independent school associations about the level of fees which should be held to be objectionably divisive. A monthly fee of DM170 was so labelled by the Constitutional Court in 1994, while the schools set DM100 as unobjectionable. Another ruling supported the legalisation of long delays between official recognition by a Land government and the first payment of subsidy - 11 years in Bavaria - which has been much resented by the schools but mostly adopted by the Länder. At the same time the courts have ruled that while governments have the right to reduce subsidies they must preserve parity between state and recognised independent schools. Attendance at *Ersatzschulen* counts as compulsory school attendance and most such schools are approved for the award of state qualifications, though they have considerable latitude in curricula, including those favoured by Steiner.

Article 7 does, however, limit recognition of primary schools to those which are of special pedagogical or cultural interest and rules out private nursery and pre-primary schools.

A second group of schools, called *Ergänzungsschulen* or 'supplementary schools', which have no counterpart in the state system, is not legally eligible for state support though some Länder do in fact give grants. These schools are mainly vocational, catering for sport, dance, languages, technical and computer studies and the like. They do not require a licence but must register their existence with the authorities. They cannot award state qualifications but are free of other controls, being required only to conform with public regulations, such as rules for fire precautions and hygiene.

2. Statistics.

Statistics for the independent sector in the sixteen Länder of the enlarged Federal Republic are not easily comparable with those for Westdeutschland published in the earlier edition of 1990 and a change in statistical analysis in the Ministry's statistics for 1995 is an additional complication. None of the Eastern Länder has at present more than 1% of its school population in independent schools and ratios range from 8.2% in Hamburg to 0.5% in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

Whereas in 1989 6.5% of the school population attending regular primary and secondary schools and 6.9% of those in vocational schools were in the private sector and at secondary level independent schools accounted for something over 12.9% of the national total, the Ministry's *Grund und Strukturdaten* for 1994 record the following data, with figures for 1990 added in brackets for comparison:

primary level	0.8%	(1%)
upper and lower secondary		
all four types	6.9%	(8.8%) - in the West 8.5% in 1994
regular primary + secondary	5%	(6.2%) - in the West 6.4% in 1994
vocational and technical	5.4%	(5.2%)
<hr/>		
Total independent schools	4.9%	(5.9%) - in the West 6.3% in 1994

It is not possible to give figures for the number of pupils in *Ergänzungsschulen* but VdP to which many of them belong claims more than 2,000 such members.

Whereas in 1986/7 there were something like 60,000 places for boarding pupils, of whom more than two thirds were in Catholic schools, this number has now been drastically reduced - a reduction of 30% is recorded for Catholic schools.

Regional variations

The proportion of private pupils varies considerably from region to region as already stated. In the new Länder it is nowhere more than 1% of the school population and in the Western Länder, excluding pupils in vocational and technical schools, ranges from 8.2% in Hamburg to about 2% in Schleswig-Holstein.

4. Organisation and control of the independent sector.

Five main groupings of main-line independent primary and secondary schools are associated in the umbrella organisation *Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Schulen* (Association of Independent Schools) in Berlin. According to the 1993 edition of its handbook (*Das Handbuch freier Schulen*) its members were responsible for the education of a total of 508,000 pupils in all, compared with 550,000 in 1987. They were distributed as follows:

Catholic day and boarding schools belonging to the *Arbeitskreis Katholischer Schulen in freier Trägerschaft* 303,000 in 1,184 schools

Protestant day and boarding schools belonging to the *Evangelische Schulbünde* 85,000 in 680 schools.

Steiner schools belonging to the *Bund der freier Waldorfschulen* 61,000 in 140 schools.

Country boarding schools (*Landerziehungsheime*) 4,000 in 18 schools

Bundesverband deutscher Privatschulen (BvP) - largely lay 88,000 in 350 schools.

An increasing number of different varieties of 'alternative' schools, some without legal recognition, belong to the *Bundesverband der freien Alternativschulen* which is an associate member of BvP.

BvP, unlike the other associations above, also has more than 1,000 commercial and specialised *Ergänzungsschulen* in membership together with evening schools and adult education institutions some of which are profit-making.

A new association, the Consortium of International Schools in Germany (*Vereinigung der internationalen Schulen in Deutschland*) comprises 10 schools with 5,000 pupils.

Most of the schools in the Steiner group are 'all- through' from year one to thirteen, having obtained legal agreement for a longer course to the *abitur* in consideration of their special pedagogical programmes.

Addresses will be found in Appendix 1.

5. Finance - subsidies and fees

All schools which are non-profit-making are exempt from value-added and business taxes. *Ersatzschulen* which qualify for subsidy normally receive up to two-thirds of the total estimated cost per-pupil in an equivalent state school. Methods of subsidy and financial control vary from Land to Land and there are several patterns for the assessment of subsidies. In Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hessen, Schleswig-Holstein and Thüringen a 'flat-rate' grant is calculated from the number of pupils multiplied by a factor based on the cost of staffing per pupil in an equivalent state school regardless of actual expenditure and with a minimum of control. In Berlin, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rheinland Palatinate and Saarland the Minister exercises more detailed supervision of a school's expenses to match subsidy to real need and grants are fixed as a percentage of the previous year's expenses in a corresponding state school - a system which involves much time spent in administration and which can result in disputes between the authorities and the schools. Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern have mixed systems, sometimes combining a basic grant with an investigation of special needs. Confessional schools normally receive further subsidy from church sources and make very small charges or none

except for boarding, which may cost from DM1,000 to DM2,000 per month as against DM1,000 in state schools.

Typical fees for a private *gymnasium* on the traditional 'morning only' pattern range from DM150 to DM450 per month.

Ergänzungsschulen such as language and secretarial schools do not receive state subsidy - except in Baden-Württemberg - and charge fees accordingly. About 50 of them are non-profit-making and get tax relief. The distinction between the two types of school is not always clear, since what is classified as an *Ergänzungsschule* in one Land may well rank as an *Ersatzschule* in another where the state system includes a similar institution -e.g. for training in hotel work.

The Länder provide free accident insurance for pupils in *Ersatzschulen* and parents in real need can in some cases apply for help with fees under the Federal Law for the Furtherance of Education (*Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz*). Some also provide pensions for teachers, help with the cost of buildings and equipment or even post state teachers, who are civil servants, to independent schools for temporary duty.

Parents are also eligible for certain allowances against tax, viz:

DM1,800 per annum for a child under 18 who is a boarder or living away from home.

DM2,400 per annum for a child over 18 undergoing training as a home student.

DM4,200 per annum for a child over 18 undergoing training away from home.

These allowances are not affected by the scale of fees charged. It should be remembered that pupils may well stay at gymnasium until age 20 and that many students do not complete their training until the late twenties.

Furthermore 30% of the cost of fees paid to an independent school may be deducted from income tax by parents.

5. The advantages and disadvantages of state support.

Despite internal differences in the method and extent of subsidy by the Länder, the limitations they impose on the independent schools are important when taken together with the implicit limitation on the size of fees set by the anti-discrimination clause of Article 7 of the *Grundgesetz*. It is clear that most schools find it hard to fund costs greater than those of equivalent state schools and are therefore not in general better equipped or served and depend for their success, with justification, on the achievement of a sense of community which involves staff, pupils and parents in support of an agreed pattern of education. The price paid for subsidy is mainly that of overall direct or devolved control by state syllabuses and examinations, though exceptions are increasingly made for Steiner and similar schools which are allowed their own curricula, a special examination and a more liberal subsidy. Because their funds are limited and they are mostly unwilling to put obstacles in the way of poorer families by charging fees, Catholic and Protestant Church schools have somewhat less scope than others for experiment and extra-curricular activities and tend to differ little from state schools in structure, curriculum and method. Nevertheless they have in Württemberg initiated a new programme for primary education which has now been adopted by the State Ministry for its schools. Their special appeal and value is in their sense of community and their vigorous defence of the principles of Christian education and academic standards. The small, new group of international schools is noteworthy for their English-language based curriculum leading to British O- and A- level examinations and the International Baccalaureate, a pattern which is also used by the *Landerziehungsheime* boarding schools of which Salem is a member.

Some supporters of the independent schools are critical of the grant system because of its tendency to support uniformity rather than stimulate variety and experiment but there is general agreement that without it independent schools and variety of choice would be limited to the children of the rich and the schools would be few in number. It is, however, less confining than, for example, the voluntary-aided system in England and Wales under which the majority of confessional schools are more directly subject to Local Education Authority control even in terms of their entry and belong to the state rather than the independent sector. The aim of the German constitution is clearly to foster a pluralistic education system under which independent schools enrich the state provision by filling lacunae in it and by providing competition, variety and a measure of compensation for limitation of parental choice by reason of lack of means. In educational terms, Germany retains what may be called a 'command economy' in education within which the independent sector affords a minor degree of liquidity. So far attempts to decentralise the overruling authority of the state in education and to devolve it to local and school authorities have been slow to reach the statute book compared with other countries, though they have much support amongst academics and liberal politicians. It is perhaps ironical that *Freiheit des Studiums*, which has long been the watchword of the German universities, is an occasional luxury rather than an intrinsic principle of education at primary and secondary level.

6. The status and future of independent education.

Despite or perhaps because of the close resemblance of the greater part of the independent sector to the patterns of state education and despite the increase in provision and variety in the public system, especially in the sphere of vocational training, the statistics point to continued, if modest, growth in the sector as a whole which was marked in the sixties and early seventies, remained steady in the eighties owing to a falling birthrate and has continued somewhat less rapidly in the nineties. There were 200,100 pupils in the full range of independent nursery, primary and secondary and non-vocational secondary schools in the former Western Republic in 1960. The number had increased to 447,400 in 1993 to which must be added 11,900 in the former eastern Länder excluding E. Berlin, giving a total of 459,300 for the Republic as a whole, 4.8% of the total school population in these types of school.

Though experiment in the majority of independent schools has done little more than mirror the cautious experiments in the state system in comprehensive education, the rapid growth in the number of Steiner, Montessori and the so-called Free or Alternative Schools which sprang up in the eighties is evidence of the increasing appeal to parents of a child-centred pedagogy which stresses the importance of developing social and artistic interests alongside academic training. The strength of the sector as a whole lies firstly in the the quality of an education which depends for its success on the ability of governors, teachers, pupils and parents to unite in supporting a community based on principles largely accepted by all the parties concerned, whether inspired by a shared faith or by a shared philosophy of education; and secondly in the limited but very real variety of choice which by reason of subsidy from the State it offers to parents who can afford only a modest fee.

Political support for independent schools and their associations, formerly mainly given in the West by the conservative democrats of the CDU, tends in the East to come more from the SPD and the Greens, but all the main parties support freedom of choice, variety and a degree of financial aid and are usually represented at meetings of the independent school organisations. Education in an independent school is rarely felt to confer special status or social privilege except for the expensive boarding schools like Salem which recruit from the

top levels of society and lay special stress on leadership and community training. Nevertheless many senior politicians choose them for their children in the belief that teachers and pupils are better motivated and conditions more conducive to full development and understanding.

As elsewhere in Europe, in North America and in the Antipodes the confessional schools in general and the Catholic schools in particular, whose numbers increased in the eighties while those in Protestant schools sharply declined, recruit widely from all social classes and exist in down-town as well as in more affluent areas. Independent school associations in general are concerned that governments in the Länder, faced by increasing economic stringency, are tempted to pare grants at a time when costs are rising more rapidly than in the past. They are also aware of their need to promote their cause at home and to play their part in the development of the wider European Community as well as in the former DDR, where the sector has understandably been slow to expand despite the efforts of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* and its member associations to promote its growth.

The main associations of independent schools have been influential in promoting an independent sector both in the former Eastern Germany and in Eastern European countries generally, together with ECNAIS, EFFE and the Joint Committee for Germany, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Opinion among teachers in Eastern Germany, who in state schools are not civil servants, is now urging policies more favourable to independent schools and Steiner methods are being practised in some subsidised state schools.

GREECE

		HIGHER UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (AEI)		HIGHER TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION (TEI)		POST-SECONDARY VOCATIONAL TRAINING (IEK) (5)		
18		GENERAL LYKEIO (2)	COMPRE- HENSIVE LYKEIO (2)	TECHNICAL VOCATIONAL LYKEIO (2)	SPECIALIZED LYKEIO (2)	TECHNICAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL (3)	APPREN- TICESHIP	SPECIAL- IZED TRAINING (4)
17								
16								
15								
14		GYMNASIO (1)						
13		SPECIAL- IZED GYMNASIO (1)						
12		PRIMARY SCHOOL (DIMOTIKO SCHOLIO)						
11								
10								
9								
8								
7		NURSERY SCHOOL (NIPIAGOGEIO)						
6								
5								
4								
3								

1. The *Gymnasio* provides general education at lower secondary level with the leaving certificate (*Apolytirio Gymnasiou*) providing access to the *Lykeio*. Evening *Gymnasias* provide equivalent education for employed persons 14 years of age or over. There are specialized Ecclesiastical and Music *Gymnasias* and *Gymnasio* Sports Departments.
2. The *Lykeio* provides education at upper secondary level with the leaving certificate (*Apolytirio Lykeiou*) providing access to the general university entrance examinations. General *Lykeia* provide general secondary education, Technical-Vocational *Lykeia* combine general education with vocational training. Comprehensive *Lykeia* aim to link general and technical-vocational education. There are specialized Classical, Ecclesiastical and Music *Lykeia* and *Lykeio* Sports Departments. Evening *Lykeia* provide equivalent education, lasting 4 years, for employed persons.
3. The Technical-Vocational School (*TES*) provides up to 2 years of technical-vocational education at upper secondary level leading to employment. Evening *TES* provide courses of up to 3 years for employed persons.
4. Specialized training of various lengths, in particular the courses run by the *OAED* (Manpower Employment Organization).
5. Post-secondary vocational training is provided in Institutes of Vocational Training (*IEK*) which do not correspond to a specific level of education.

GREECE

National background

The Greek educational system and the role of independent schools within it reflect the inherent antinomies of Greek society. From classical times Greeks have been remarkable for two fascinatingly paradoxical characteristics - an intense, excitable and ruthless individualism and a deep sense of loyalty to party, region and the country which is the birthplace of western culture. Decentralisation of power is rare and education, like other aspects of life, is bureaucratically controlled from the centre and examination-ridden and in comparison with other EEC countries has adapted slowly to modern trends. To survive in these conditions intelligent Greeks, while nominally accepting the law's controls, connive together to by-pass regulations in every sphere of life, yet are often too individualistic to combine effectively and act in concert in support of the causes they prize lest their own personal profit and enterprise be endangered.

Article 16 of the Greek Constitution of June 1975 puts the responsibility for education and its control firmly on the state and requires that in state institutions it shall be free of charge at all levels. It also forbids private persons or bodies to set up university-level institutions.

Parliament regulates the organisation and management of educational bodies, the content of teaching, timetables and national examinations. The national Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs administers the system through 108 Directorates of Primary and Secondary Education in the 54 Prefectures, a responsibility shared for technical education with the Ministry of Labour. In the lack of an official inspectorate these offices are also responsible for supervision of and advice for both state and independent schools. The representative National Education Council submits proposals on educational policy to Government. The Ministry contains a Directorate for Private Education.

By tradition education at all levels emphasises the historical values of Greek and Hellenistic culture and has given special weight to the study of classical and modern Greek history, philosophy and logic, at the expense until recent years of pure and applied sciences and vocational training. There is now a self-governing body, The Organisation for Vocational Training, established in 1992, for the supervision of state and private Institutes of Vocational Education and Training.

As the diagram makes clear compulsory education at primary and lower secondary (*gymnasio*) is from 6-15, with voluntary pre-school education from 3½ to 5½ either in state primary or independent nursery schools and is free in the state sector. Assessment and examination are rigorous and high performance in the leaving certificate at the end of the compulsory course (*Apolyteriou*) admits to the *lykeio*. See diagram for details of evening classes at both *gymnasio* and *lykeio* level.

All schools, both state and independent, must follow the common curriculum laid down by the Ministry and the prescribed texts authorised for each subject. All schools must have a Parents' Association, a School Council (consisting of the Teachers' Association, the Board of the Parents' Association and a representative of local government and in secondary school a pupil representative) and a School Committee which is responsible for management. The School Committee consists of a single representative of the municipality or commune, of the Parents' Committee and of the pupils and the Head Teacher.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR.

1. Legal and Ministerial controls

Para 8 of Article 16 in the Constitution mentioned above permits the establishment of independent schools. They are subject to Law 682/77 which regulates what are termed 'private general education schools and boarding schools'. Since 1972 there has also been provision for the establishment of technical and vocational schools in the private sector. Law 1966/91 lays down regulations for them and for the less formal courses of the commercial *frontisteria* or crammers,

Established by order of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, they are directly controlled by the regional authorities. Apart from a small number of non-profit-making schools which are recognised as the equivalent of state schools they do not qualify for subsidy but text books are provided free as they are in state schools. Vocational and technical schools are not eligible for grant and are entirely fee-paying but individual students may be given financial assistance approved by the Ministry.

The Minister has control of curriculum, staffing levels, class sizes, transfer from and to state schools and the granting of certificates, which are normally set in parity with state schools. Schools open in the morning only unless they have special approval from the Ministry. In the *lykeio* written promotion tests are obligatory at the end of each year and are supervised by a joint board of independent and state teachers. Final leaving certificates depend on passes at all three levels.

Each school proprietor must nominate candidates for teaching posts to the Ministry's Directorate of Independent Schools for appointment. They are not normally eligible for posts in state schools and state teachers may not work in an independent school. Pay and working conditions are the same as in the state system. Inspection is carried out by the same state inspectors.

2. The main types of independent school

There are four different types of independent school in Greece, each of which is differently regulated.

a) The majority are profit-making ventures under private Greek ownership and, as already explained, must conform strictly to state patterns. A few have GCSE and A-level programmes alongside the Greek one and the best have well-planned and well-built premises, though provision for science, as in Greek schools generally, is short by British standards. Entry is unselective except by cost which at the beginning of the nineties ranged from Dr600,000 at primary and lower secondary level to Dr800,000 or more in the *lykeio*. Fees are strictly controlled by government and this, combined with the rigidity of the official syllabus and the restriction to officially prescribed texts and manuals, makes it difficult to extend the scope and quality of instruction despite judicious adaptation of regulations whenever possible. Below this level, apart from half a dozen schools of moderate quality, most schools exist in cramped premises and with poor resources, though conditions in the state sector may well be worse, involving shared premises and staggered hours.

b) There is a number of international schools with foreign curricula, six of which are English-language schools with British or American programmes. All but one are incorporated in the US; Campion, a British foundation, has pupils from 3½ to 18. These schools must be licensed by the Greek government under law 4862/1991 and are not open to Greek pupils unless they have been educated abroad.

c) Fifteen foreign schools licensed by the same legislation provide an education based on the Greek pattern and are open to Greeks without restriction. Four have an American Principal and a Greek deputy or co-director, the most famous and best appointed being Athens College, many of whose pupils come from the most influential families in Greek life and industry. It has admitted girls since the eighties and has a scholarship programme on American lines which aims to recruit children from widely different social backgrounds at age 4½. Its awards are not funded by fees and are not competitive or selective, being distributed by a lottery, though the prestige of the college ensures a measure of self-selection by parents with appropriate life styles and ambitions. Its resources allow it to offer very good teaching and facilities and a wide range of extra-curricular activities not normal in Greek schools. Sadly, the pressures of the Greek examination system deter pupils from making full use of them as they go further up the school. This and the preceding group of schools educate about 10,000 pupils in all.

d) The independent vocational *lykeia* (TEL) and Technical Vocational Schools (TES) were at one time the main providers of this pattern of education but are now losing out to the newly developed and better-equipped state equivalents. The 16 Ecclesiastical *Lykeia*, one of which is independent, admit boys only, many of whom are destined for ordination. The state *lykeio* system also includes a specialist Music *lykeio* and 15 *lykeia* have specialist sports departments.

3. Statistics

a) Nursery and primary schools.

According to official statistics for the pre-school age group 123,161 children attended nursery or primary pre-school classes in 5,473 state schools in 1995/6, compared with 4,786 (3.74%) in 130 independent nursery schools. Of the overall total of nursery schools 15.7% were in the Athens area.

At primary level in the same school year 40,469 pupils attended 411 independent schools, roughly 5.99% of the total in the age group.

b) Lower Secondary - *gymnasia*.

17,239 pupils (4.26% of the age group) attended 101 independent schools of these types compared with 404,670 in 1,543 state schools.

c) Higher secondary - *lykeia*.

14,798 pupils attended 82 independent General *Lykeia*, 5,522 attended 62 independent vocational *lykeia*, and 3,350 attended 55 independent Technical Vocational Schools (TEL and TES). They represent 6.13% of the total at this level.

There are no independent comprehensive *lykeia*.

These percentages bear witness to a long-standing and marked decline in independent numbers at pre-school and primary level. 11% of pupils of pre-school age were recorded in the independent sector at pre-school and 7.29% at primary level in 1989/90. The decline at secondary level has been less marked but reflects the improved but still struggling efficiency and equipment of the state sector.

No statistics are available for frontisteria and other forms of special course. They are often expensive and inefficient establishments which specialise in coaching for examinations in which success depends on rote-learning and the setting-out of answers. The scramble for high

marks for admission to university is such that many able pupils from good state and independent schools are sent to them in the evening by parents anxious to insure a top point score, especially if they are applying to read medicine.

Teacher-pupil ratios and terms of employment.

There is no difference in teacher-pupil ratios between the sectors, since independent schools are bound by state regulations. Teachers in independent schools have their own union but aspire to assimilation to the civil service status enjoyed by state teachers and their pension rights. All teachers at secondary level must be graduates.

5. The status and future of the independent sector

Independent education in Greece reflects the paradoxes already noted in Greek society. So individual and commercially competitive are the schools that they are virtually unable to come together for mutual protection and the furtherance of their educational ideals. They are hard set to lighten the constraints of a bureaucratic and highly centralised system of financial and educational controls and are in fact virtually hamstrung by ministerially imposed curricula, text books and examinations, so that even the small number of non-profit-making institutions like Athens College, despite better resources and better-qualified staffs, are unable to offer the variety of choice and method which in different degrees is normal elsewhere.

Political pressures share much of the blame for this, alongside the national tradition of unquestioned central control. PASOK, under Papandreou and his supporters, was and is philosophically opposed to privilege as are socialists in France and Spain and has announced its wish to abolish not only independent schools but also selection in state schools, although so far the threat has not been activated. There is in Greece no lobby similar to those of the Catholics in France and Spain with their parents' associations and parliamentary lobby-groups and there is an entire absence of experimental schools of Steiner or Montessori type.

The Greek independent schools proper, all profit-making and mostly expensive, vary greatly in standard and with the expansion and re-equipment of the state system face a steady diminution in numbers. Nevertheless, the often overcrowded premises of state schools and the rigidity of their methods continue to make the independent sector attractive, especially to the middle and professional classes, despite their high fees. This is especially true of the expensive, élite group which, as far as government's strict control of fees allows, is relatively well-equipped in terms of laboratories and information technology.

Greece's membership of the European Union, though it has increased contact with Europe generally in education as in other fields, has not so far greatly influenced authoritarian national attitudes to education and to the need for variety and freedom of choice, though there have been some changes - for example, the ending in 1995 of compulsory religious instruction in schools, much to the dislike of the Orthodox Church, and in 1996 a proposal that university entrance should be based on a new national certificate of education together with records of the final two years in school. In the independent sector the most important lack is that of provision for non-profit-making, charitable institutions with freedom to offer variety of choice and of educational programmes - a lack which reflects the conservatism of the government and of the owners and users of the independent schools.

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

IRELAND

		UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION AUTHORITY INSTITUTIONS	COLLEGES OF EDUCATION	COLLEGES OF TECHNOLOGY/REGIONAL TECHNICAL COLLEGES
	19/20			
	18/19			
	17/18	VOCATIONAL TRAINING (4)		
	16/17	SECOND-LEVEL EDUCATION SENIOR CYCLE (2)	YOUTH- REACH (3)	PROGRAMMES AND COURSES
	15/16			
	15	TRANSITION YEAR (2)		
	14	SECOND-LEVEL EDUCATION - JUNIOR CYCLE (SECONDARY,VOCATIONAL,COMPREHENSIVE, COMMUNITY SCHOOLS) (2)		
	13			
	12			
	11			
	10	FIRST-LEVEL (PRIMARY) EDUCATION (NATIONAL SCHOOLS)		
	9			
	8			
	7			
	6			
	5	FIRST-LEVEL (PRIMARY) EDUCATION (NATIONAL SCHOOLS)	PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION (1)	
	4			

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

1. There is no national system of pre-school education in Ireland. However, primary (*National*) schools may accept pupils on or after their 4th birthday. Existing pre-school services are mainly private and not part of the formal education system. The average age for starting school is five years.

2. Second-level schools cover lower and upper secondary education - Junior and Senior Cycles. The four main types - Secondary, Vocational, Comprehensive and Community - all now offer a comprehensive curriculum combining academic and vocational subjects. The Transition Year is a one-year interdisciplinary programme, either at the end of full-time schooling or in preparation for the Senior Cycle. The Junior Cycle leads to the new Junior Certificate providing access to the Senior Cycle.

At Senior Cycle, the main courses are the 2-year Leaving Certificate leading to higher education or employment, and the Vocational Preparation and Training Programmes which prepare for working life.

3. Youthreach is an education and training programme available to young people who have left school with no formal qualification. It lasts 2 years (a Foundation year and a Progression year).

It is run jointly by the education authorities (Vocational Education Committees - VEC) and the Vocational Training and Employment Authority (FAS).

4. Training courses of various lengths are provided by FAS for unemployed young people: Community Training Workshops, Travellers Training Workshops.

----- = alternative beginning or end of level/type of education

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

The national background

Education in the Republic of Ireland is difficult to assess in terms of the usual distinction between state and independent schools. Its development since the transfer of power to the Republic has been largely controlled by the complex interrelationship of the State and the Catholic Church.

In one sense most schools at primary and secondary levels are independent in that they are managed by largely independent bodies while receiving government funds to cover all or part of their running and capital costs. In another there is a valid distinction, as the diagram makes clear, between:

a) the provision of free primary education in what are called 'national' schools, funded by government but organised and maintained under denominational and mainly Catholic Boards of Management appointed by and responsible to a Patron - the Catholic Bishop or a senior Protestant or Rabbi.

b) a secondary system, which is historically composed of academic, independent and almost exclusively denominational schools, most of which are virtually non-fee-paying and are fully subsidised by government, while a minority charge considerable fees and receive a lower level of subsidy, but which now also include a limited number of comprehensive and a small but growing number of 'community' schools. All of are virtually free, aided schools. These are managed under the authority of the Catholic religious orders apart from five comprehensives under the patronage of Protestant denominations. Community colleges and vocational schools are the only schools directly under local authority control. The 'grammar' schools are now classified as 'Secondary' Schools and educate 60% of the total numbers. 30% at this level attend Vocational Schools, 2% Comprehensive Schools and 6% Community Schools.

There is the further complication that denominational schools are open within limits to children of different beliefs or none, with a conscience clause allowing their withdrawal from religious instruction. In principle this means that all primary schools and the majority of secondary schools are independent, aided denominational rather than maintained or state schools in the accepted sense. This highly individualised system is the result of a long development whose origins lie in past conflicts between Church and State and is buttressed by Article 42.1 of the 1937 constitution which is outlined below under 'Constitutional Safeguards'.

There is no national system of pre-school education. Nursery schools exist only in the independent sector and are not subsidised, but national (primary) schools, as the diagram makes clear, may and do admit children at four years of age to a preparatory class. By 1992/3 some 56.2% of four-year-olds and 99% of five-year-olds were in morning-only 'full-time' schooling.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. Constitutional safeguards of choice and independence

The aims and principles which govern education in Ireland are clearly laid down in Articles 42, 44.2.4 and 44.6 of the Constitution of Ireland, 1937, as revised in 1973. The relevant clauses are:

Article 42 and Article 44.2.4

1. The State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the family and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide, according to their means, for the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children.

2. Parents shall be free to provide this education in their homes or in private schools or in schools recognised or established by the State.

3.1 the State shall not oblige parents, in violence of their consciences and lawful preference to send their children to schools established by the State, or to any particular type of school designated by the State.

4. The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative; and when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard, however, to the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral education.

(N.B. The word for in this clause is highly significant.)

Article 44 2.4.

Legislation providing State aid for schools shall not discriminate between schools under the management of different religious denominations, nor be such as to affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending religious instruction at that school.

There is no specific legislation covering requirements for the establishment of independent primary and secondary schools. The role of the State is thus clearly limited to protecting and promoting parental rights while ensuring that a basic minimum is achieved. However, the State's agent, the Department of Education, which subsidises the aided primary and secondary schools, also runs the examination system and is now directly involved with the state vocational schools. It is becoming steadily more powerful and exercises a real measure of control through what is in fact a centralised administrative system despite some degree of devolution to local control. Proposals by the present Minister requiring all schools to have a Board of Management and establishing Regional Education Boards with wide powers will, if enacted, severely reduce the independence and autonomy of independent schools. Education is compulsory from 6 to 15, as the diagram makes clear.

2. Primary education

a) 'National' schools

Of all pupils of primary age in 1992/3 521,531 children (96.3 % of the age group) attended 3,326 state-aided schools of which 372 were single sex boys' schools and 234 girls' schools. 117 were special schools. The greater number were coeducational. The management boards of these schools include nominees of the religious patron - usually the bishop - two teacher and two parent representatives and two co-opted representatives of the local community. Unlike voluntary-aided church schools in England and Wales they are free from direct local authority control and are more self-sufficient. The State pays 85% of capital costs and about 80% of running costs and the balance comes from the local community. Of the roughly 3,200 Catholic schools in the early eighties 573 were run by religious orders. There were also 24 Presbyterian or Methodist schools, 2 under joint patronage and 202 sponsored by the Church of Ireland. The decline in numbers since then is partly due to the declining birthrate and partly to the growing popularity of the new 'state' schools. Nevertheless the overall pattern has changed only slightly, with the establishment of a very small number of multi-dimensional schools. Neither fees nor parental levies are permitted but most National Schools ask parents for voluntary contributions..

b) Independent primary schools

There are some 79 fully independent schools at this level which do not receive state aid and are not subject to inspection. Many are run by religious orders and are often junior sections of aided secondary schools. Such junior schools are sought after as likely to guarantee entry to

the selective secondary school to which they belong. Salary scales tend to be lower than in aided schools generally and less attention is given to the Irish language than in the National Schools.

There are also three preparatory schools in membership of the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools in the UK, a small number of Montessori and Froebel Schools and two Steiner Schools,

3.Secondary Education

Voluntary Secondary Schools, which normally offer both the compulsory junior cycle of secondary education and the post-compulsory senior cycle as shown in the diagram, are under private management but qualify for state grants provided that their curriculum is approved by the Department of Education. Approximately 77% of the age group they serve are said to complete the full course, which from 1994 includes a transition year to prepare for the two-year senior cycle. According to the Department's statistics for 1992/3 there were 325,401 pupils at junior and senior secondary level in 775 schools. 60% of these attended the 467 independent Voluntary Secondary Schools offering an academic, grammar-school course. Of the remainder 30% attended state-run Vocational Schools which combine general and vocational courses at a lower level, 2% Comprehensive Schools and 6% Community Schools. However in recent years the distinction between the courses offered has tended to diminish and, with the abolition of entrance examinations in 1994, parents have nominally free right of choice of school, except at the 5% of voluntary grammar schools which charge fees.

After taking into the count the 26 Protestant schools, five of which are comprehensive schools under Protestant management, and a single Jewish school, the remaining 443 schools are all under Catholic control. The overwhelming majority are owned and run by Catholic religious orders, upwards of thirty are Catholic Diocesan Colleges and almost another thirty are controlled by lay Catholics. Roughly 31% are coeducational and the majority are single-sex, boys' or girls' schools. 73 Catholic and 21 Protestant schools have boarding sides representing about 5% of the total roll, a figure which has diminished steadily since the early eighties. The high proportion of Protestant schools taking boarders reflects the scattered distribution of Protestants in rural areas. Most schools have between 200 and 500 pupils.

More than 95% of these schools have been nominally free since 1967, though they tend to resort to levies or voluntary subscriptions to supplement a subsidy which falls short of real costs. There are two causes of this shortfall - the first is the decline of 'religious' and therefore unsalaried recruits to the staff room and the second is that, when free education was introduced in 1967, the State took advantage of the existing low fees in setting grants which now, despite upgrading do not match costs.

The 39 Catholic and 21 Protestant schools which charge fees include the most sought-after academic institutions such as the Jesuit Belvedere College in Dublin where James Joyce was educated, St. Columba's College, King's Hospital, St. Andrew's College, Blackrock, De la Salle College, Wesley College, The Presentation Brothers' College in Cork, Mount Sackville Convent in Dublin and Rathdown College for Girls. The State pays the salaries of recognised teachers but they do not qualify for other grants. Fees per annum for secondary day-pupils ranged in 1966 from Ir£1,000 to £2,500 and for boarders from Ir£3,000 to £6,5000.

'Free' schools receive a capitation grant of £150 per pupil and a supplementary grant to cover running costs. The State also pays teachers' salaries less a small amount and provides grants

to cover 88% of the cost of buildings, furniture, etc. Grants may not be used for the payment of loan charges. No grant is given for boarding.

Protestant secondary schools receive funding for their non-fee-paying students through a special block grant which is disbursed according to parental means and is administered by an inter-church Secondary Education Committee. Fee-paying schools can and often do provide for more generous staffing out of fees - and are envied by those which cannot do so.

Like the other types of secondary school, the Voluntary Schools are subject to the *Rules and Programme of Secondary Schools* laid down by the Department of Education but are not required to account to the Department and are little troubled by the Inspectorate except when they invite them to approve applications for building grants. All the same their curriculum is dominated by the state examinations at 15+ and 17+. Until recently there has historically been a marked preference for the three languages, Irish, English and French, and for mathematics, history and pure rather than applied sciences and technical subjects.

Being independent institutions, they are free to select or reject applicants for admission as they choose. Very few would now admit to being academically selective. Admissions are mostly based on primary school record and/or interview or limited to a defined catchment area. Junior school pupils are normally admitted to their senior school and brothers and sisters normally have priority. While denominational schools give preference to co-religionists they are not exclusive and must be open to those of other faiths and none. Some of the more expensive schools, especially the Protestant ones, are felt to be socially selective but this may be, often if not always, a parental persuasion.

4. Coordination and control

There is a complicated and extensive pattern of coordinating agencies, particularly at secondary level, to represent the interests of the Catholic and Protestant churches, the Catholic schools run by the Orders, the lay schools, managers and teachers of various kinds. Most important of these is the Secondary Schools' Joint Managerial Body which represents both Catholic and Protestant schools in negotiations on grants and with teachers' unions. The Irish Schoolheads Association (formerly Irish Schoolmasters Association) represents Protestant boys' and girls' schools. For some addresses see the Appendix.

5. The status and future of the independent sector

Education in Ireland continues its process of development from a private, church-dominated and at secondary level selective system, largely financed and indirectly controlled by government, into a mixed system in which state schools, once restricted to vocational training, and community based comprehensives coexist and increasingly enjoy common programmes with independent, grant-aided grammar schools. The constitution is unique in the extent of responsibility given to parents at both levels for the education of their children and makes them the unequivocal arbiters of choice between education at home (which almost none choose) and in state or independent schools. While there is some active political opposition from minority parties and unions it has not proved strong enough to enforce on government a demand for radical change of the kind put forward by the ginger group, Campaign to Separate Church and State. The present Minister of Education, Níahm Bhreathnach, has over the last four years secured agreement from church patrons to a lessening of their right to control school boards by nominating a majority of members in return for legal safeguards and the Attorney General has confirmed that denominational schools have the right to insist that staff belong to their denomination. Since the publication of a Green paper in 1992 leading to a White Paper in 1995 there has been much consultation

and new legislation affecting the recruitment of teachers, universities and the educational system in general. The Minister's latest proposal to establish ten Regional Education Boards met with opposition on the grounds that their powers might adversely affect the right of patrons to object to staff appointments. As a result the legislation is still on hold. If passed into law the speed of change will accelerate.

It is mainly in the new urban developments that the small number of community-based schools finds favour in a society whose aspirations are mostly middle-class and bourgeois. The most significant change in recent years has been the growth in demand for multi-denominational primary schools in the larger cities, but it must be remembered that denominational schools are by no means exclusive on religious grounds. The distinction between free and fee-paying schools at secondary level is one of status, both social and educational, though for Protestants the only option, unless they use one of the multi-denominational schools, is to pay fees or to enrol their children at a free Catholic school or one of the rare comprehensives.

Meanwhile in the primary sector, the whole national system of aided, free Church schools is still dominated by the parish priest and the diocese, and the Catholic and Protestant churches still dominate primary teacher-training. Nevertheless the by no means negligible influence of the Department of Education over aided schools at both primary level, where it virtually controls the curriculum, and at secondary level through its powers of regulation, its control of examinations and its role as paymaster together with its direct involvement in vocational schools increases its leverage, so that it is now more than the maintainer of a minimum standard to which the constitution limits its remit. At the time of writing the new Education Bill and two other bills relating to the operation of schools have just been published. If they become law they are predicted to have considerable influence on the way schools are run, who is enrolled in them and who can teach in them.

The system as it has developed makes an interesting contrast more particularly with Holland but also with Belgium, France and Spain where often bitter conflict between Church and State for the control of education has resulted in different compromises, less effective personal choice and a stricter economic and educational control. The independent schools in the Irish secondary sector and especially the fee-paying ones enjoy a degree of autonomy little short of full independence largely at government expense. They are privately owned and managed and, while they receive either almost full or partial subsidy, do not have to submit estimates or account for expenditure on running costs to government. They also benefit from considerable aid for capital costs and the amortisation of loans. Their chief limitation, as in the UK, is the control exercised by the examination system and the increasing unionisation of teaching staffs. If the demand for other types of schools accelerates, as is likely in a society increasingly exposed by international contacts to wider worldly influences, there may well be an accelerated decline in the size of the independent sector and a decrease in Church influence in education but a major shift seems unlikely unless the climate of society in Ireland is radically changed. National reactions to changes in the law of divorce and abortion are a reminder of the difficulties involved.

ITALY

COMPULSORY EDUCATION (1)



UNIVERSITIES AND UNIVERSITY INSTITUTES					FINE ARTS ACADEMIES		VOCATIONAL TRAINING COURSES APPRENTICESHIP EMPLOYMENT-TRAINING CONTRACTS (10)
CLASSICAL OR SCIENTIFIC <i>LICEO</i> (3)	ARTISTIC <i>LICEO</i> (4)	ART SCHOOL (5)	TECH- NICAL SCHOOL (6)	VOCA- TIONAL SCHOOL (7)	PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOL (8)	NURSERY TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOL (9)	
SECONDARY EDUCATION (2) (INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS - <i>SCUOLA MEDIA</i>)							
PRIMARY EDUCATION (PRIMARY SCHOOLS - <i>SCUOLA PRIMARIA</i>)							
NURSERY SCHOOLS							

1. The Government has proposed to extend compulsory education from 8 to 10 years, that is, until 16.
2. *Scuola Media* (intermediate schools) provide comprehensive general lower secondary education with the school leaving certificate providing access to upper secondary schools.
3. 5-year upper secondary general and classical or scientific course with the school leaving certificate (*Maturità*) providing access to all university education.
4. 4-year general and artistic course leading to higher level courses. 5th complementary year leads to the upper secondary school leaving certificate providing access to all university education.
5. 3-year general and artistic course leading to employment. A further 2-year course has been established experimentally in certain schools leading to the applied arts upper secondary school leaving certificate which provides access to higher level artistic schools.
6. 5-year general and technical course leading to the technical school leaving certificate providing access to employment or higher or university education (*Maturità tecnica*).
7. 3-year general and vocational course leading to a "qualification certificate" and employment. 5-year experimental courses lead to the vocational school leaving certificate which is equivalent to the technical school leaving certificate.
8. 4-year course of general and teacher education for primary school teachers also providing access to further study at university faculties of education. 5th complementary year provides access to certain university faculties.
9. 3-year course of general and teacher education for nursery school teachers.
10. These courses can be entered at any age between 15 and 25 (and sometimes beyond).

----- = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education.

..... = division in the level/type of education

ITALY

The national background

After the abolition of the monarchy in 1946 the new constitutional charter of January 1948 laid down the basic principles which, together with a complex of previous legislation, control both public and independent education in Italy. The Italian approach is in all kinds of administration highly legalistic and formal. The Constitution itself was a compromise between Right and Left and, like the 1929 Concordat between the Vatican and the State, was meant to give parity to both sides; but, also like it, it has worked until recently more in favour of one side in the shape of successive and often insecure Christian Democratic governments in a country in which North and South are also deeply divided. The Concordat itself was renegotiated by the Craxi government in 1986, when religious studies were relegated from compulsory to optional status in the school curriculum.

The Ministry for Public Education (MPI) is responsible for all pre-school, primary and secondary education but Higher Education passed in 1989 to the Ministry for Universities and Scientific Research. Regional, provincial and communal authorities are Ministry agencies responsible for the enforcement of ministerial directives, and for the curriculum and staffing as well as for sites and buildings with the help of representative provincial Schools Councils.

The need for educational reform throughout a system in which compulsory schooling still ends at 14 is now accepted by all parties and the primary level was up-dated in the late eighties. All the same, the system still lags behind current practice in other EU member-states. The pattern set out in the diagram of a compulsory free six-year primary and three-year *scuola media*, followed by an optional three to five years of upper secondary is intended under a law passed in 1993 to include a degree of devolution to school councils, but is in fact still subject to very strict administrative control from the Ministry and its regional and provincial out-stations and allows little freedom to heads. Sadly however, even in 1997, compulsory education still ends at fourteen, despite talk of a change. Ministry funding is administered by the provincial authorities and to a very limited extent directly by school councils except for technical and vocational schools which are funded centrally. Inspection is partly centralised and partly at regional level.

At upper secondary level (*Scuola secondaria superiore*) all three types of *liceo*, classical, scientific and artistic together with the *Istituto magistrale* for primary teacher training include ancient languages in the curriculum. The *Scuola Magistrale* for training nursery teachers, the nine types of technical school and the five types of vocational school include general education in their curriculum, especially in the first two years. For admission to this level of education pupils must have passed the Lower Secondary leaving examination (*Diplome di Licenza media*). Successful students in the *licei* qualify for the *maturità* at the end of their course which admits to university and there are leaving certificates in the vocational schools. The examination is the subject of much controversy with its very high pass-rate leading to more than a 50% drop-out rate at university. It may change in 1998 when all subjects are to be tested. At present the examination consists of two written papers on two main subjects (e.g. Italian and Latin or Italian and mathematics) and an oral test on two subjects, one chosen by the student and one by the examiners. In 1990 the *licei* were reported to educate about 28% of all pupils at this level.

The Ministry's centralised control extends to syllabuses and examinations. All teachers and administrators in state schools are civil servants and three-quarters of all teachers are women.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. The constitutional and legal position.

Many of the regulations governing independent schools date from the Fascist period despite strong advice from the Constitutional Court in 1958 that a new law was needed to provide greater equality of opportunity for pupils in the independent sector - advice which continued campaigning by the school associations has so far not led to agreed legislation. Italy is a signatory of the various Declarations of Human Rights.

The relevant clauses of the constitution which guarantee the right to freedom of choice in education are as follows:

Article 33.3 - Corporate bodies and individuals have the right to set up schools and educational institutions so long as no expense to the State is involved.

33.4. Within the legal control of the rights and duties of independent schools aiming at government recognition, schools must be guaranteed full freedom and their pupils an education equivalent to that in State schools.

33.5. For admission to the different kinds and stages, for leaving school and for qualification for professional training a State examination must be passed.

Article 14.3. The ablest and most industrious students have the right to reach the highest level of studies even if they lack the financial means.

14.4. The Republic makes this effective by means of bursaries, family assistance and special subsidies, which will be allotted by competitive examination.

Italy is unique among European countries in limiting direct subsidy to independent schools from central government funds to grants to those which cater for educational and social needs not within state provision, and in limiting individual assistance to the 'most able and industrious' by competition. The fact that the Constitution forbids general subsidy has the advantage of diminishing the exposure of independent schools to political attack from all but the extreme Left, though Christian Democrats and others have argued that it does permit financial subsidy where there is social benefit, especially if this is directed to individuals rather than schools. This justifies and explains why many communal and regional authorities distribute free books and pay travel and meal costs for pupils in both state and independent schools. The same reasoning underlies the grant of limited subsidies to some independent primary schools in distressed areas and less frequently to middle schools.

Law 1073 of 1962 allows a percentage of state funds to be allocated to private nursery schools for working costs if they provide free education for children of low-income families, and also occasional assistance for school buildings and, under a separate law, for running costs. For details of these and other concessions at secondary level see para 3b below.

2. Statistics

The independent sector is made up of two kinds of institution:-

nursery, primary and secondary *scuole* which are legally recognised and approved and match those in the state system; and institutions, usually known as *corsi*, which specialise in vocational and professional training, sport, languages, dance, etc., or whose role is either to enable adults or early leavers to reach a higher level or diploma or to provide remedial tuition for secondary pupils from the public sector who have failed promotion. The statistics below refer only to legally recognised schools which follow state patterns.

a) Numbers.

According to Ministry figures for 1989/90 14.94% (1,372,006) of the total school population of 9,179,778 at preschool, primary, lower secondary and upper-secondary levels were attending independent schools which conformed to state patterns. Of these about 62% were controlled directly by the Catholic Church and the rest by lay authorities, many of them with

Catholic allegiance. The independent share varied widely at different levels. By 1994 according to estimates in CENSIS. Rapporto 28, 1994, at pre-school level, despite some fall in the eighties as state provision expanded, 46% of pupils attended independent schools, a decrease of 15% since 1985/6. At primary level they numbered only 8%, a decrease of 18.2% from 1985; at lower secondary 4.4%, a decrease of 30.1%; and at upper secondary 8.6%, a decrease of 9.8%. These figures, of course, reflect demographic changes as well as changes in parental choice. In the same period numbers in state schools increased by 5.6% in preschool classes, decreased by 23.1% in primary schools, and by 27.4% in lower secondaries and increased by 5.9% in upper-secondaries. They also conceal considerable regional variations, especially between the southern *mezzogiorno* provinces, the industrial North-West and to a lesser extent the North-East. The proportion of parents who choose an independent as opposed to a state school at some stage in their children's education is reported to be greatest in big cities like Rome and Milan (20%, compared with 13% generally).

b) Teacher-pupil ratios and class sizes in the independent sector.

Teacher-pupil ratios in 1993 and 1986 in comparison with the state sector in the same years:

Preschool: 26.5:1 as against 19.1:1 in 1986 (state: 10.6:1 as against 12.7:1 in 1986)

Primary: 10.2:1 as against 8.6:1 in 1986 (state: 9.6:1 as against 13.1:1 in 1986)

Lower Sec: 9:1 as against 10:1 in 1986 (state: 8.1:1 in 1992 as against 9.3:1 in 1986).

Upper Sec: 6.3:1 in 1993 as against 7.4:1 in 1986 (state: 9.2:1 as against 10.1:1 in 1986)

These figures reflect both the surplus and relative cheapness in salary terms of qualified teachers in Italy and the improvement in staffing levels in state schools as a result of somewhat better financial provision, while rising costs of salaries in independent schools must be balanced by higher fees. The overall teacher:pupil ratio at all stages is now 10.1 in the state system. It is the lowest teacher:pupil ratio in Europe.

c) Fees and teachers' salaries.

Fees in independent secondary schools are largely determined by the cost of teachers' salaries, which in the private sector are on average 30% lower than those of state teachers and vary from region to region, and by the location of the school. Where a school in the north might charge on average L6m, a similar school in the south may charge only L3.5m. Much depends on the school's degree of recognition and aid from regional funds. For example, a median figure of L4m charged by a subsidised independent *liceo* in the north when the cost per student is L8m means that fund-raising by other means is essential. Schools run for profit and some *corsi* charge well above the average but non-profit-making schools have to face costs which are considerably higher than the fees which their parents can be expected to pay and must raise funds to fill the gap.

d) International Schools.

There is also a considerable number of day and boarding international schools in the main cities which are not included in the statistics - e.g. St. George's English School at Rome, Sir James Anderson School and the American School at Milan. Swiss and German schools and the French Chateaubriand Institutes are subsidised by their governments. There is a Rome International School Association with some 15 members in all, 5 of which teach to University entrance level. Fees in these schools vary widely, ranging from about L6,000,000 to L19,000,000.

3. Organisation and control

a) *Preschool*

The majority of independent nursery schools are fee-paying. In the remainder parents contribute to the cost of school meals and transport supplied by the commune. All are eligible for some state funding with certain provisos.

b) *Primary schools*

There are three categories:

1) completely independent schools run by individuals or public bodies, which require Ministerial recognition of their legal existence and of the adequacy of their premises and staff.

2) subsidised schools (*scuole sussidiate*) established with the authorisation of the Provincial Director of Education (*provveditore agli studi*) in places where no government provision is planned.

3) recognised equivalent schools (*scuole parificate*) managed by corporate bodies (mostly Catholic) but not by private persons. They are authorised by the Ministry and the Regional Director under an agreement which may allow an agreed amount of financial support. They may also receive Church or other funding.

c) *Secondary schools*

A separate Directorate General of the Ministry of Education is solely concerned with independent secondary schools. Its main purpose is, in the words of one of its Directors, *vigilanza* - to see that the independent sector complies with the very complicated legal and administrative regulations which police it. An inspectorate attached to the Department helps to assess new applications for recognition as well as to control observance of regulations. In general the law makes a clear distinction between

1) completely private schools with minimum regulation,

2) registered schools and *corsi* (referred to above) which must apply for registration (*presa d'atto*) involving some minimal standards,

3) legally recognised schools (*scuoli legalmente riconosciute*) which follow the state pattern. This involves control to ensure that educational objectives, courses, subjects, timetables, teachers' qualifications and the conduct of examinations all fulfil the requirements. 'Recognised' schools which have the further title of *pareggiate* or *parificate* must also conform in the number of teaching posts and conditions of service. There are also regulations for new experimental types adopted by the sector like the *licei linguistici* and for independent schools of art, music, drama and dance which offer tertiary as well as secondary courses.

State support, where given, normally consists of subsidies or grants for schools which fill a state gap in educational provision. At primary level independent schools in disadvantaged areas which do not charge fees may be given help with salaries. There are also grants to local authority nursery schools and to primary schools for buildings. Pupils in 'recognised' schools get free text books and transportation to schools as in the state system. Recognised or equivalent schools at secondary level must award 'free places' to scholarship winners under the national scheme.

4) Ownership and control

Independent schools, as was made clear above, may be owned and controlled by private individuals, by religious orders and Church authorities, by recognised governing bodies (*enti pubblici*) and by cooperatives. Some are established under the control of nominees of the communal authorities.

Teachers are employed by the school but in 'parallel' recognised schools should technically at least, like teachers in state schools, have a teacher's diploma (*abilitazione*) gained in a state examination. It makes it possible for them to resist unscrupulous employers and to bargain over terms of employment through their different unions at national level. There are several different unions which wholly or in part represent teachers in independent schools, each affiliated to a political party. Teachers' contracts are enormously complex and detailed, covering pay, duties, pension rights, etc. Salaries are substantially lower than in the state sector. For this reason some 30,000 teachers in Catholic schools staged a strike for the first time ever in 1990.

5.Coordination.

The interests of governors and owners of independent schools and of independent education generally, including relations with the Ministry, political parties and trades unions, educational programmes and pedagogy, are the concern of a number of different associations, each mainly involved with its own sector. All have extensive regional organisations.

For the official Catholic Church schools AGIDAE (*Associazione Gestori Istituti della Autorità Ecclesiastica*) is their Governing Bodies Association. It shares offices with FIDAE (*Federazione Istituti di Attività Educativa*) which is more concerned with educational and curricular development. FIDAE has some 1,300 member schools, 450 of which have some boarding provision, while upwards of 220 are nursery and primary teacher- training schools. Both associations date from the mid-forties and are represented on the European Committee for Catholic Education (CEEC).

ANINSEI (*Associazione Nazionale Istituti non Statali di Educazione e di Istruzione*) was founded contemporaneously with the Catholic Associations and on similar lines to cater for lay schools, mostly again Catholic. It is said to have some 600 member schools of all types including *corsi* and is organised regionally.

FIINSEI (*Federazione Nazionale Istituti non Statali di Educazione e di Istruzione*) is a somewhat more conservative association of lay schools, also largely Catholic.

Addresses are listed in the Appendix.

6.The status and future of the independent sector.

Whereas in the eighties the independent sector's popularity remained relatively steady except for a decline in numbers at upper secondary level, in the nineties so far better state provision at primary and lower secondary levels and a decreasing birth-rate have accelerated a reduction in the independent sector's 'market-share', although at upper secondary level better staffing ratios have lessened the decline somewhat. In recent years reform of the educational system by 'democratisation' and decentralisation has been a favourite topic in the press, in political programmes and with the general public - including amongst other things discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of vouchers - but in fact the domination of the bureaucrats remains firmly entrenched and heads of schools have almost no discretion in decision-making.

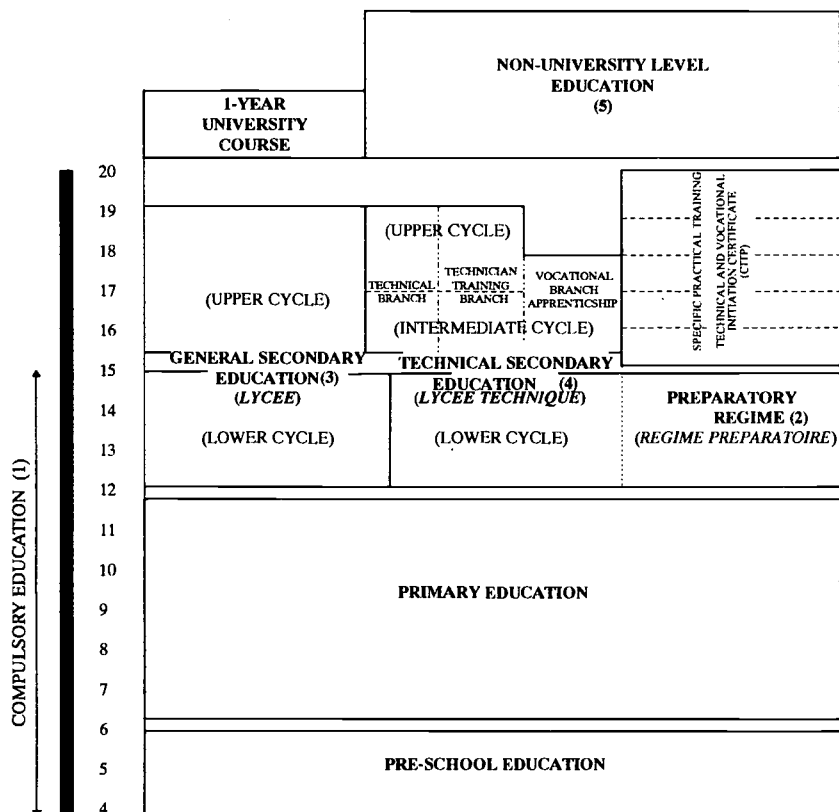
Public opinion about the value of the independent sector vis-a-vis the state sector remains divided. Some think of independent schools as refuges for failures from the state system, where weak pupils can obtain a diploma or a 'maturità' for indifferent work. This means, they say, a lowering of teaching standards and academic rigour and an indulgent attitude to pupils in the hope of keeping them at school. Others point to the predominance of priests and nuns in independent schools when they would prefer their children to be educated in lay schools. Left-wing supporters fear that increased support for independent schools would deprive state

schools of the financial resources of the state sector at a time when it needs upgrading.

In 1994 President Scalfaro, an ardent Roman Catholic, took the unusual step of publicly supporting public funding for the independent sector in contravention of the constitutional ban referred to in section 2 above, a proposal which, according to an opinion poll, was favoured by 50% of the population. Supporters claimed that the state saved L10,000 billion from parents who paid fees for private education while state teachers, whose salaries are said to swallow 97% of the education budget, opposed an expense which would further reduce the tiny funds available for new schools and equipment. Berlusconi's manifesto in turn highlighted the need to open up access to the independent sector but both this and proposals for vouchers and for the payment of teachers' salaries by the Minister were soon set aside. His Education Minister, Sig. D'Onofrio, encouraged parents to make a legal challenge for free meals and transport as in state schools, perhaps inspired by a Sicilian court's ruling that they were entitled to free books during compulsory education. Conversely there has been support for greater control of *corsi*. In fact very little has changed as CENSIS' 28th Annual Report for the year 1994 reveals. It suggests that the most urgent needs are to work out new legislation to regulate relations with the private sector since some present laws precede the date of the Constitution and to achieve real integration of the two systems, including guarantees to ensure the preservation of religious, pedagogical and philosophical principles alongside equal funding. The obstacles are, it argues, the constitutional ban on subsidy, at present broken *de facto* at regional or communal level, the fear that competition resulting from market-forces will stimulate excessive rivalry and make schools into businesses, that the system will become too fragmented, and that the cost of making state schools properly autonomous in terms of resources must take precedence over the needs of the independent sector and would indefinitely postpone measures to help it.

Heads of state schools argue the need for greater control and assessment of autonomous schools and of teachers in both sectors in a devolved system of the kind under discussion. Clearly, if there is to be maximum freedom of parental choice and variety of educational opportunity the supremacy of the state sector and the administrative stranglehold of the Ministry must be reduced in favour of the independent sector, the more so because there is little hope of affording a compensatory increase in the educational budget, estimated at 16%, to cover the cost of more generous subsidy. The average cost of a pupil at secondary level is L6.7 million. There is much discussion of the different solutions in other EU member-states and, if progress is to be made, it is likely to be by improving the nature and value of existing contracts between independent schools and the state and by the exclusion of schools which fall short of their state equivalents. It will require a real change of heart in the bureaucracy but there are signs of hope in that the present government seems to favour the idea of education as a 'public' rather than a 'state' service and, it is claimed, thinks more in terms of general regulation than detailed management and quality control. Independent schools are in fact by no means always superior in quality or diversity of offering. The comparatively lower decline in the popularity of fee-paying nursery schools compared with other levels is an indication of their relative quality in educational terms in face of increasing state provision and of course of their religious appeal. Their strongest attractions are, as elsewhere, the sense of community they generate between parents, teachers and pupils, especially when they share denominational or philosophical beliefs. The fact remains that parental choice in formal education is at present exercised largely on religious grounds, as the small representation of schools offering what are called 'different pedagogies' shows. There are, for example only 13 Steiner schools, none of which goes beyond the eighth grade. In the near future there seems little hope of a real resolution of the debate.

LUXEMBOURG



1. Compulsory education includes two years of pre-school education.

2. The preparatory regime (*régime préparatoire*) of technical secondary education (formerly complementary education *l'enseignement complémentaire*) provides a 3-year course in general and practically-oriented subjects for pupils aged 12 to 15 who have completed 6 years at primary school but who are not allowed to transfer to secondary education (i.e. they have not passed the entrance examination). The preparatory regime prepares pupils for a vocational qualification.

3. General secondary education covers seven years of study divided into a lower cycle (completing compulsory education) and an upper cycle. The lower cycle leads to a certificate attesting the completion of compulsory education. The upper cycle leads to a secondary school leaving certificate which provides access to university education.

4. Technical secondary education covers six or seven years of study divided into two or three cycles respectively. The lower cycle leads to a certificate attesting the completion of compulsory education. The intermediate cycle comprises a technical branch and technician's training branch which lead to the upper cycle, and a vocational branch which includes parallel apprenticeship training in a firm leading to the certificate of technical and vocational proficiency providing access to employment. The upper cycle leads either to a technical secondary education leaving certificate providing access to higher education or to a technician's certificate.

5. 2- to 3-year courses.

----- = alternative beginning or end of level/type of education

LUXEMBOURG

The national background

Education in the Grand Duchy developed slowly and on conventional lines during the nineteenth century. It was only after a long controversy between Church and State that a law of 1921 laid down clear regulations for public and independent primary education. Free secondary education for both sexes was introduced after the Second World War. There is no constitutional declaration about the right of parental choice and the existence of independent education, nor has Luxembourg signed the various Declarations of Human Rights, but, as is natural in a Catholic country, there is strong support for pluralism and educational freedom of choice and philosophy. The official policy is to ensure for all residents, regardless of race, religion, sex or social class, equal rights of education, which, as the diagram shows, is compulsory under a new regulation published in 1992 from age four to age 15 and includes two years of pre-schooling. Unusually there are no headteachers at pre-school and primary level. There are no fees either in pre-school and primary classes or in secondary schools but at secondary level all but the needy may be asked to pay for books and materials. At pre-school and primary levels the communes are required to contribute to the cost of salaries, maintenance and materials but the main expenses at all levels are met by central government. Education at all stages is bilingual. Pupils not considered suitable for transfer to secondary courses are admitted to the three-year *régime préparatoire* before taking up work or vocational training. Admission to *lycées* and *lycées techniques* is by examination in French, German and arithmetic and promotion to the four-year upper level depends on performance in the preceding year. More details are given in the notes appended to the diagram.

The academic *lycée* course is designed to prepare students for university studies in two disciplines - classical and modern studies, both of which also include the sciences. Success in the final national examination, the *diplôme de fin d'études secondaires* and its technical equivalent in the *lycée technique*, admits to university and there are lesser qualifications for technicians. The two types of *lycée* are sometimes combined in one school.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. Constitutional and legal position, finance and operational programmes

The independent sector is tiny, mainly for girls and preponderantly confessional (Roman Catholic). Its legal control stems for primary education from a law passed in 1912. This sets out the conditions under which independent schools must operate. They must be corporate bodies, have government approval from the local council after inspection, and have approved curricula. There are currently four independent denominational fee-paying primary schools which receive partial subsidy on a per capita basis from the State, and one non-denominational.

Until 1980 pupils in the Catholic independent day and boarding secondary schools were not subsidised by the state and only very few girls were enrolled in their primary classes. Both these schools and the lay technical schools found themselves in very real financial difficulties in the 60s and 70s over rising costs. A long-standing argument about their right to state subsidy was partially resolved in 1979 by a decision of government to give them an annual grant which, despite indexation, covered less than half of their annual working costs. In January 1982 government, increasingly aware that if the schools disappeared the whole cost of education would devolve on themselves, proposed a new law (no. 2555) which finally

confirmed the right of existence to the independent sector in the name of freedom of choice, variety and competition and proclaimed the duty of government to protect the legitimate interests of pupils in its schools. The measure was fiercely debated in parliament and in the press with all the usual arguments deployed on both sides, including the charge that the state system would be deprived of resources which went to independent schools and that the Church must not be allowed to dominate a pluralistic and essentially lay society. The Christian Democratic Party and its allies finally succeeded in putting the law on the statute book and independent schools came under the new system in September 1982. It provides for approved schools a contract similar to that applying to French schools and depending on a rigorous examination of management, ethos, buildings, terms of admission and promotion, finance, examinations and certificates. Under the contract they receive 80% of the cost of salaries of qualified teachers and 40% of those of others, with a complicated system of capitation allowances for other costs. Buildings remain the responsibility of the trustees and fees are subject to government approval. The estimated subsidy per pupil is just under 50% of equivalent state costs. Grants are reviewed annually and in 1991 the total for the year was BF65,600.000.

A second kind of independent school is also recognised, offering courses not provided by the state. Such schools must be approved by the Ministry of Education but are not grant-aided.

All independent schools are inspected by the Ministry of Education and the finances of aided schools are reviewed by an audit commission.

The terms and conditions of service for teachers require them to be Luxembourg nationals at primary level and to have state qualifications. There is some transfer between the two sectors, especially on a part-time basis.

Typical fees for the Catholic schools in 1961 were BF12,000 per annum for day pupils and BF24,000 for boarders. Typing and music lessons are an extra.

2. Statistics

As in other European countries there has been a decrease in school rolls in the nineties. In 1993/4 the official statistics show 353 pupils in 2 independent primary schools and 173 in *enseignement complémentaire* in the 12-15 age group against a total of 633 in 1990/91. Together they form 2% of the total roll of 26,231 at this level as compared with 2.3% in 1990/91.

At secondary level there were in 1991/2 there were 953 pupils in independent general secondary courses and 1,911 in technical ones, together forming 12.09% of the total at these stages compared with 9.55% in the preceding year.

One Catholic school has a primary department. At secondary level there are five Catholic day and boarding lycées. Two combine academic and technical streams and three offer only technical ones. There are also three unsubsidised Catholic vocational schools for medical auxiliaries. The subsidised *Lycée Technique Privé Émile Metz* is a lay coeducational school providing technical and vocational education for state examinations. There is also a trade school belonging to the steel works ARBED at Differdange.

Pupils at aided secondary schools are required to sit for state examinations and certificates.

There is also an independent European School which offers the International Baccalaureate, an American primary and secondary school and a single Steiner school.

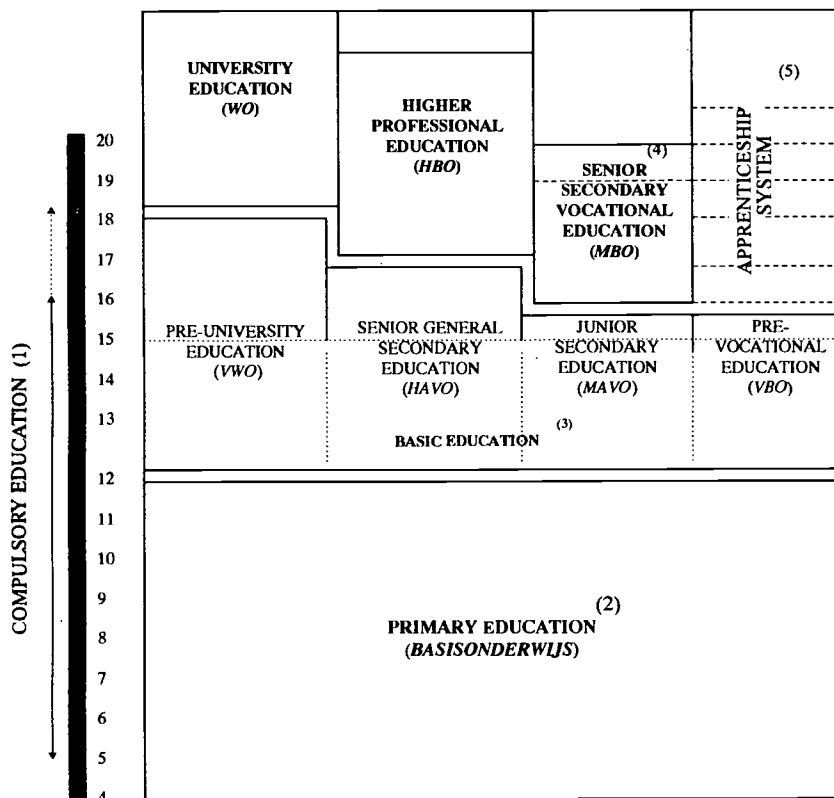
There is no association representing the independent sector but there are teachers', parents' and pupils' associations, details of which can be obtained from individual schools. There is some further information in Appendix 1.

3. The status and prospects of the independent sector.

As is clear, Luxembourg, while avoiding the excesses of a real *guerre scolaire*, has been slow to recognise the benefits of widening choice and extending autonomy in education. Even more surprisingly for a Catholic country, it has been slow to give recognition and support to independent confessional schools. The law of 1982 safeguards, at least for the present, the existence of a relatively small number of confessional and lay independent schools and it seems unlikely in the short term that the political balance will change in favour of more radical left-wing views, despite some vigorous champions of a unitary, lay system of the kind which appeals to French and Spanish left-wingers. It would be hard, in any case, for a country whose membership of the European Union is so valuable economically to disregard the Council of Ministers' declaration of 1984 in favour of government subsidies to support variety and independence in the educational systems of member countries. That there has been some shrinkage in the sector is to be explained in part by the increasing number of girls attending what were formerly almost exclusively boys' state schools.

In comparison with the state schools whose curriculum and examinations they share the independent schools are valued for the usual variety of reasons - better discipline, their (mostly) Christian affiliation, the involvement of teachers, pupils and parents in the school community and smaller classes. In terms of patterns of education and variety as yet only the Steiner school offers a wider choice to the general public.

NETHERLANDS



1. Compulsory education lasts either 12 years full-time (5 to 17) or full-time from 5 until the end of the school year in which the pupil has reached the age of 16 followed by part-time compulsory education until the age of 18.
2. Separate pre-school education does not exist formally in the Netherlands. Primary education lasts for eight years - 4 to 12 (compulsory from 5). Provision for children below four is the responsibility of the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs.
3. As from the 1993/94 school year, all types of secondary education begin with a three-year period of basic education (*basisvorming*), offering broad-based general teaching in which no strict distinction is made between general and technical subjects.
4. Depending on the course chosen, it may last up to 4 years. *MBO* is designed for pupils aged around 16-19.
5. Apprenticeship training lasts 2 to 3 years and advanced apprenticeship 1 to 3 years.

..... = division in the level/type of education

----- = alternative beginning or end of level/type of education

THE NETHERLANDS

The national background

The history of Holland since the foundation of the Dutch republic in 1587 is one of an evolutionary struggle for the establishment of a truly tolerant society in which minority religious, secular and racial interests are fully entitled to parity of esteem and support from a community with an originally Calvinistic majority which for a long time sought preeminence. The outcome of this long period of struggle has been the evolution of what some sociologists call a 'columnar' pattern of separate, self-contained groups - the chief ones being Protestant, Catholic and 'neutral' or 'liberal' - within which families tend to remain for most aspects of life; and although more recently their members increasingly cross over borders for some commodities, education included, the distinction remains generally intact. Tolerance and respect for divergent views and ways of life are virtually universal.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR.

1.The educational system and the legal and constitutional position of the independent schools.

The struggle for parity of esteem and equality of financial provision for the many Catholic, Protestant and liberal private schools continued unresolved until the ratification of a new Constitution, commonly known as the Pacification of 1917. A further constitutional revision was made in October 1987, Article 23 of which confirms both complete tolerance of parental choice and religious and philosophical freedom to run schools without interference from the authorities, subject to certain safeguards and controls and guarantees. Financial subsidy laid down by Parliament had been already established in 1848. Article 23 begins with a requirement that education be the constant concern of the government. Further clauses ensure freedom to provide education subject to State supervision and require government to ensure full respect of religious beliefs in state schools and parity of standards in state and independent schools at both primary and secondary levels. Independent schools are given complete freedom to educate in accordance with their 'religious beliefs' which must be based on one of the religious or *other beliefs* found in Dutch society - a reaffirmation of the 'columnar' principle, which also extends to other collective services like health and to the organisation of political parties and trade unions. Independent schools were also assured of complete freedom in the choice of teaching aids and the appointment of teachers.

The provisions of the 1917 Constitution were first implemented by a law of 1920 which decreed financial parity for public and independent primary schools so long as the latter conformed in terms of standards and conditions with their equivalents in the state sector, a provision which has since been extended to secondary and higher education as well. This law was the result of an agreement between the political parties in exchange for the acceptance of votes for women. Its financial terms include the provision both of the capital cost of premises and of running costs. Salaries, which are paid directly by the authorities, teacher qualifications and pensions follow the state norms and all schools must be open to inspection by state inspectors and take state examinations. The core curriculum is laid down by government, though not the choice of books and methods. The result is little possibility of educational initiative since free time in the curriculum is limited to roughly two hours per week, though concessions have been made for the increasingly popular Steiner and Montessori schools whose programmes are based on their special pedagogical philosophies.

b)Teacher pupils ratios.

These are of necessity the same in both sectors. At primary level the ratio in 1995 was 19.4:1 and at secondary level 17.0:1..

c) Subsidies and fees.

To qualify for subsidy independent schools must be non-profit-making. The very small number of completely private schools, even when approved, are ineligible for state grants.

The rate of subsidy per capita in 1995 was fl.5,500 at primary level, and fl.8.700 at secondary level. Most of the money comes from central funds but some operating costs are paid by the municipality at the same rate as for its own schools and recovered from central government.

In primary schools books are school property, funded by government. In secondary schools parents must purchase books themselves. Schools help to reduce costs by various means: leasing, second-hand sales and subsidies. Allowances for books and other departmental expenses are usually higher in the independent sector than in maintained schools and they look either to church or trust funds to supplement the not very generous state allowances for capital provision and equipment, though under strict control from the Ministry.

A small but increasing number of 'free' schools, which are not recognised by the Ministry at secondary level, charge the full cost to parents. Of the increasingly popular Steiner schools, now 104 in number and already subsidised at primary level, some 16 or more which provide secondary education are now recognised by the Ministry and subsidised..

The average fee paid by parents in both state and independent schools at primary level is fl.140 for a first child and fl.110 for other children but varies between the denominations and in non-church schools is as high as fl.360 for the first child and fl.1270 for other children.

At secondary level schools are allowed to charge small fees for amenities, school visits and the like, graded according to income. The average is about fl.230. All pupils over 16 years of age are eligible for a basic grant irrespective of parental income and supplementary grants are available for those whose qualify by reason of low parental income. The government raises a school tax from every pupil from sixteen years of age. For 1996-7 the rate is fl.1477.

3. The status and prospects of Dutch independent education.

In the Dutch system the state retains the general oversight and direction of education but has increasingly devolved responsibility to schools in both state and independent sectors for their management and the detailed organisation of the national curriculum, so leaving schools themselves largely free to practise their own educational philosophy within the parameters imposed by finance, the overall pattern of subjects and government inspection. Some commentators would characterise this system as virtually a voucher scheme whose main objective is to provide consumer choice while minimising discrimination by reason of parental inability to pay fees. It is not, however, without some disadvantages.

Since the provision of premises and funding is the same for all types of school, the overall curriculum plan is in outline set by the Ministry and all pupils are candidates for the same compulsory public examinations, the main differences must stem from the school's foundation purpose, the attitudes and quality of the teaching staff and head, the quality and motivation of the pupils and the wishes and involvement of parents who have chosen the school for their children; and finally from its success in creating a genuine sense of community. Most schools now issue the required prospectus setting out details of aims and

curriculum and the School Board includes, in typical Dutch democratic fashion, representatives of parents, pupils, staff and auxiliary workers. The Board appoints teachers and in the confessional schools only Christian teachers are normally considered.

With little or no selection of pupils by ability in any sector and comparatively little in the independent sector by parental ability to pay fees, parents and especially those who live in mainly Protestant or Catholic areas, choose largely by their 'columnar' affiliation and with little regard to social class; but as suggested in an earlier section, there is increasingly some crossing of frontiers for other reasons. For example, some middle-class parents opt on social grounds for a school in a down-town area and vice versa; and there is little reason to doubt that many parents now choose their independent school more for its quality of education than for reasons of faith, especially in the cities. In the country denominational loyalties tend to affect both daily life and choice of school more directly. A recent OECD study, 'School - a Matter of Choice', well illustrates these changes in its account of three secondary schools - Catholic, Protestant and state - in Haarlem, where competition and falling rolls have tended to increase academic élitism at the expense of the less able and to blur differences in traditional patterns.

Overall the system's merits are its commitment to parental choice and the virtual elimination of social élitism ensured by parity of financing between state and independent schools and within the two sectors; and by the prohibition of all but minimum fees for 'extras'. Though most professional men and women are educated in independent schools this does not in itself appear to give them special status in adult life or in the search for jobs, and a *curriculum vitae* normally includes a reference only to higher education.

These are very real advantages in building a truly classless society but do not justify the claim sometimes put forward for its preeminence. The uniform control imposed by law, diluted though it is, and in particular the impossibility of raising funds privately for the employment of extra teachers to improve standards and to finance experimental work make it hard to achieve real excellence, to change the pattern of an intensive and dominantly formal curriculum or to achieve an all-round liberal education which includes a wide range of extra-curricular activities. Music, drama and games are regarded as mainly a parental responsibility and must be sought outside school. This may explain why the so-called 'free school' movement has expanded with increasing rapidity and has won support from the Ministry for its previously unsubsidised secondary schools - for example, Steiner and similar schools which do not conform to the official patterns of organisation and curriculum. If parental choice is the determinant laid down by law, such schools should be and increasingly are eligible for subsidy.

NORWAY

<div>COMPULSORY EDUCATION (2)</div> <div><div></div></div>	UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION		NON-UNIVERSITY HIGHER EDUCATION	
			APPRENTICESHIP AND WORK EXPERIENCE (4)	OTHER (5)
	UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION (3)			
	GENERAL (SCHOOL)	VOCATIONAL (SCHOOL)		
	10 TH YEAR			
	PRIMARY AND LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION			
	PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION (1)			

1. School entry age will be lowered to 6 years.
2. There are nine years of full-time compulsory education, to be extended to 10 years within a few years.
3. Upper secondary schools provide 3 years of general and vocational education after the 9th or 10th year of lower secondary education, with the final year examination qualifying for higher education.
4. The norm for apprenticeship training is 2 years of vocational training in upper secondary school followed by 1 or 2 years of practical training in industry.
5. Courses not included in the Act concerning upper secondary education.

- - - - - = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education

NORWAY

The national background.

Norway is a large country with a very distinctive geographical structure. Over 60% of its surface is above the timberline. Many of its relatively small population of 4.3 millions live scattered in rural areas. These factors have strongly influenced the development of Norwegian life and politics. Another factor is the evangelical tradition of the Lutheran Protestant Church, which since the country became independent in 1814 has been the official religion of the state, while the law guarantees freedom of worship. It is worth noting that the Ministry responsible for education is entitled the Royal Ministry of Church, Education and Research. From the Middle Ages education was church-based in 'Cathedral' schools which later developed into '*Latinskolen*' or grammar schools, later still called 'upper schools'. These in 1920 became the 'upper secondary schools' of the present national system. Some form of compulsory church-based primary education dates back to 1739. It was steadily extended during the nineteenth century to cover seven years in 1889 and more recently in 1969 to nine years.

From 1814 until 1905 Norway was still linked with Sweden by the Swedish-Norwegian Union and it shares with all its Scandinavian neighbours a long tradition of independent education both at school level and for adults. The early primary schools were, until the 1890s, supplemented by a growing number of independent schools. Thereafter under the influence of an increasingly socialist-minded society state provision reversed this trend, so that by the end of the Second World War the number of independent schools was much reduced.

Post-war social democratic governments have promoted a 'public democratic' system and opposed the financial support given by earlier governments to independent schools, with the object of ensuring that all children receive the same basic education without regard to their social status or geographical environment. Conservatives, on the other hand, have tended to argue that independent schools promote variety and that without the availability of state grants to widen access to them social differences will increase. A 'comprehensive' system of education for children aged 7 to 16 was introduced by the Education Act of 1968 and a supplementary Act of 1975. Compulsory education at present begins at the age of seven but from 1997 will commence at six. The comprehensive stage (*grunnskole*) provides primary and lower-secondary levels either in separate or in combined schools. There is a school leaving examination at the end of this stage.

The secondary stage (*videregående skole*) is now also compulsory from age 16 to 18 and the new law, Reform 94, guarantees to all adolescents the right to a choice of secondary education, which may be either academic and aimed at university entrance or vocational, though the vocational courses include some academic subjects. Before 1994 upper secondary students were, as in Sweden, offered a choice of more than a hundred courses, but 'introductory' vocational courses have now been reduced to 13 in all. They lead via a leaving examination to university, university level colleges and regional colleges at tertiary level or to training for occupational qualifications.

Government and the Parliament, *Storting*, set overall policies to be administered by the Ministry. Control of secondary education is devolved to a National Education Office in each county, which is also responsible for in-service training; and primary and lower secondary education is administered by the Municipal Councils. Central government grants provide for most of the costs, with some contribution from local funds.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. Legal status, controls and subsidies.

State grants for independent schools have a long history in Norway and, despite government policies which from the 60s gave precedence to state comprehensive schools, some 117 were grant-aided in 1969. New legislation in the 70s decreed that to receive state grants independent schools must fulfil at least one of five requirements - viz: to be established for religious or ethical reasons, to carry out experimental teaching, to teach Norwegian children overseas, to fill an educational gap not fully covered by the state or in some other way to offer an education the state does not provide. Government policy has been rigidly administered by constant and sometimes hostile scrutiny to ensure that they follow the regulations which apply to state schools of corresponding type. Even slight variations from the state curriculum involve extensive and even rigid examination before Ministry approval is given.

Nevertheless the roll of independent schools receiving grants rose from 147 in 1984, with 11,000 pupils representing just over 1% of the school population, to 195 in 1995, with a total of just over 17,000 pupils. These figures include 25 Norwegian schools located abroad.

About 45% of the schools are owned by religious organisations, some by joint stock companies and a few by individuals. 25% of the pupils in secondary schools take courses not found in state schools. Up to 1966 grants had amounted to 65% of equivalent state costs. From 1985 a new act increased public grants to 85% for schools equivalent to state schools and 75% for those which were not. It also made regulations designed to increase democratic influence in governing bodies. Parents and employees are now eligible for membership and students at secondary level have the right to attend meetings and express their views. The Act was drafted in consultation with the school associations. Profit-making commercial schools do not receive grant.

2. Coordination.

There are three main associations of independent schools. The Norwegian Private School Association (*Norske Privatskolers Landsforbund*) has about 45 member schools at primary and secondary level. The Association of Christian Schools in Norway (*Kristne Friskolersforbund - KFF*) was founded in 1988 by the growing number of evangelical Christian schools and now has 106 member schools. The Steiner Association (*Steinerskolene in Norge*) includes 10 upper secondary, 24 primary schools and 3 kindergartens. There is also a small number of Montessori schools.

3. Statistics.

According to official figures for 1995 the number of independent schools of different types and their pupils were as follows:

Primary schools	61 with 7,000 pupils.
Secondary schools	43 with 7,000 pupils,
Special schools for the handicapped	11 with 346 pupils.
Norwegian schools abroad	25 with 652 pupils.
Others	55 with 2,352 pupils.

Totals	195 with 17,350 pupils.
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Fees typically range from N kr 4,000 to 20,000 per annum, with Christian schools in the lower ranges.

4. The present situation and near future of the independent sector.

The Reformed Education Act of 1994 and the introduction of compulsory schooling for six-year olds has changed the landscape quite dramatically both for independent and for state schools. Prior to this Act compulsory schooling ended at 16. Secondary schools were voluntary and offered a wide variety of courses. The basic aim of the Act is to ensure that all students continue on to University or other Higher Education or learn a trade or profession. Vocational schools cooperate with businesses to give students on-the-job training. Students in vocational schools have to take some academic subjects, which makes it easier for them to take exams admitting them to a more academic education if they so decide during the course. Many independent schools which prior to 1984 offered only one-year courses at this level now offer the complete three years of upper secondary education. The average educational level of Norwegians is high and it is the clear policy of the Government to keep the standard high and if possible to raise it further.

In August 1997 all six-year-olds, who up till now have been taken care of in state or privately-owned kindergartens or by their parents, will be enrolled in primary schools. The first year of school is meant to be a 'soft' transmission from home or kindergarten to school life. Teaching will be based on play with no hard academic content. The change is controversial and many doubt whether the children will benefit. It has led to increased interest in home teaching, which is legal even though the Government is not anxious to encourage it.

The Government has decided to increase grants to primary schools to cover the running and capital costs of increased numbers, which would normally have fallen on local authorities. Independent schools have not been offered these grants but argue that since the change is enforced by legislation they should be given them by right.

As a result of these structural changes there is a clear need for amendment of educational law. An investigating committee has concluded that separate laws covering primary, secondary and independent schools should be replaced by a single education act. This could have quite dramatic effects for the independent sector. The present laws affecting it guarantee to independent schools the right to exist and to educate according to their different ethical and religious beliefs. The new Act would be especially harmful to schools with no equivalent state pattern, for example Bible Schools. The schools also fear that their right to self-government would be reduced. The proposal has not so far been subject to political debate but it has already resulted in much concern among proprietors, employees and students in independent schools.

It is also worth recording that in 1995 the government turned down the first application for the founding of a Muslim private school. No clear reason was given. In view of the international agreements Norway has ratified and the right of parents to decide how to bring up and educate their children, this is felt to give reason for concern.

Norway has been described by a sociologist as an extreme version of 'social corporatism' under which state and corporate interest groups cooperate in working out political decisions instead of encouraging open competition between rival groups. Independent schools have been more warmly supported by Conservatives than by Social Democrats but, in spite of a solidly Social Democratic government, they enjoy a fairly secure position. In terms of general education, most independent schools differ only marginally from state schools. Their real strength lies, as it does in most countries, in the cooperation they foster between teachers, parents and students sharing in a real sense of community.

PORTUGAL

24	UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION				NON-UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION (POLYTECHNIC)		APPRENTICESHIP	INITIAL TRAINING SCHEMES		
23									(6)	(7)
22										
21										
20										
19										
18	SECONDARY SCHOOL		VOCATIONAL SCHOOL		RECURRENT ADULT EDUCATION					
17										
16	(4) CSPOPE	(5) CT								
15	3RD CYCLE 2ND CYCLE BASIC EDUCATION (2) 1ST CYCLE						RECURRENT ADULT EDUCATION	(3)		
14										
13										
12										
11										
10										
9										
8										
7										
6										
5	PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION									
4	(NURSERY SCHOOLS - JARDIM DE INFÂNCIA)									
3										

COMPULSORY EDUCATION (1)

1. Until 1987, compulsory education in Portugal lasted 6 years, whilst compulsory attendance lasted until 14 years of age (i.e. 8 years). The Comprehensive Law on the Education System of October 1986 extended compulsory education to 9 years - applicable to pupils enrolled in the first year of basic education for the 1987/88 school year and for subsequent school years.

2. Basic Education comprises compulsory education of 9 years, consisting of three consecutive cycles of 4, 2 and 3 years respectively, and is roughly equivalent to primary and lower secondary level.

3. 3-year evening courses of general or technical education for early school leavers and adults.

4. Secondary courses predominantly leading to further studies (*Cursos Secundários Predominantemente Orientados para o Prosseguimento de Estudos - CSPOPE*), or general courses;

5. Secondary courses predominantly oriented towards working life, or technological courses (*Cursos Tecnológicos - CT*).

6. Apprenticeship is accessible to young people aged 14 to 24. It lasts 1 to 4 years.

7. Initial training schemes in various employment sectors, of various lengths.

..... = division in the level/type of education

----- = alternative beginning or end of level/type of education

PORTUGAL

The national background

Portugal joined the European Economic Community in 1986, some twelve years after the revolution of 1974 which marked a turning point in the development of modern Portugal and opened the way for the liberalisation of a somewhat old-fashioned system of public education in which the Church's dominant interest was safeguarded by a concordat with the Holy See. The resulting fervour for democratisation of all aspects of community life was reflected in educational reform, under which schools were freed from rigid central control and given greater freedom to control their finances, educational programmes and teaching methods. One of its more bizarre results was the abolition of headmasters in schools, seen as symbols of past tyranny, and their replacement by school councils (*conselhos de escolar*) composed of elected teachers, parents, the local council and others. The councils are required to elect a chairman (*director executivo*) from the teaching staff whose term of office, like that of the other members, is limited. As a result teachers have tended to refuse nomination as chairman, in which case the council must make three nominations to the Minister who then appoints a chairman. Alongside the main school council there are a curriculum council (*conselho pedagogico*), including in secondary schools pupil representatives, responsible for the school plan, curriculum, in-service training and extra-curricular activities, and an executive council. It is hard to see how a school can establish or maintain any consistent or effective policy under such a short-term system and it is sad that the generous, broad-minded and democratic principles which underlie the new pattern of Portuguese education are not in this and in other ways matched by effective performance in real life. Law and administrative regulation proliferate in all branches of national life at the expense of decisive action and economic shortages combine with a highly bureaucratic administrative system to intensify the problem of adapting to the increasingly rapid changes in educational policy and method common to EU member countries in the nineties.

As a result, Portugal still has leeway to make up before it can claim parity with its fellow-members of the EU. In 1987 40% of the working population had had no more than six-years of formal compulsory education from 6 to 12. The compulsory stage was lengthened to nine years for those entering school in 1987/8 and after and is only now fully operative. 'Basic' compulsory education (see diagram) now consists of three stages of 3, 2 and 4 years in length covering primary and lower secondary stages. Many students who have left school prematurely attend night schools at all levels. Promotion depends on tested attainment and many are held back to complete the first cycle well beyond the age of 10. In the third cycle there is room for choice between academic and pre-vocational subjects. Those who achieve a pass in the final assessment are granted a leaving certificate (*diploma de ensino básico*). Higher secondary schools (*ensino secundario*) as reorganised in 1993 offer three choices - CSPOPE for the academic pupils aiming at various forms of higher education including technology and art, CT for technological training and applied art studies, and thirdly purely vocational courses. They all include a general educational course. There is a final assessment under Ministry control for the award of a detailed *diploma de estudos secundários* established in 1976. The Ministry, which is responsible for inspection, curriculum development and general educational policy, has as explained above now devolved many of its functions to regional authorities and the schools. Nevertheless it has handed down a legacy of very detailed regulation based on equally detailed laws which involve schools in endless form filling and inspection. It is not perhaps surprising that those who can opt for independent

schools where headmasters and headmistresses are still in charge, though beset with returns and regulations. Overall the independent sector educates roughly 7 % of the total school population.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. The constitutional and legal set-up.

Article 36, section 5 of the Republican Constitution of 1982 very firmly establishes the right and duty of parents to educate their children and in Article 43 sets out the following points:

- a) Freedom to learn and teach is guaranteed.
- b) The state may not claim the right to make education conform to any individual philosophical, aesthetic, political, ideological or religious pattern.
- c) State education is not church-based.
- d) The right to establish independent schools is guaranteed.

Article 69 requires the state to cooperate with parents in the education of their children.

Article 74 is concerned with equality of opportunity and as an ultimate aim the provision of free education at all levels, including pre-primary.

Article 75, in addition to requiring government to create a full system of public schools for all, sanctions subsidies for independent and 'cooperative' schools.

The Declarations of Human Rights have not been incorporated in the Constitution but their spirit is strongly reflected in it. Laws 9 and 65 of 1979 clearly establish these constitutional principles.

Law 9/79 authorises the creation and running of independent schools according to their statutes, the control of their standards by government, their financial support by subsidies and contracts, and the parity of government awards and grants for their pupils. Schools which fall within the national system of education (see Law 46/1986 below) are exempted from main national taxes.

Law 65/79 is concerned with freedom in education as defined in the Constitution for parents, schools and pupils.

Decree-Law 553 of 1980 spells out in detail the relationship of independent and 'cooperative' schools with the State. While the State retains its rights of authorisation and inspection, schools have freedom in matters of programmes, method and certification. It also establishes a Consultative Council of Independent Education consisting of a representative of the Ministry of Education, namely the Director-General of Private and Cooperative Education, the Inspector-General, two representatives of independent school organisations, two representatives of the National Secretariat of Provincial Organisations and two representatives of teachers' unions. This body has some influence on educational policy and allows regular contact with the Ministry.

A further law, 46/86, which reformed and democratised the old system to conform with general European practice, stated that independent schools which share the aims and methods of the state schools are considered as part of the national system of education, though the others are free to follow their own ways if they wish and may be given official recognition after investigation. It also promised further legislation to make its provisions effective. These schools count as 'bodies of public utility' and have legal advantages. Their teachers are free of income tax on professional services as are teachers in state schools. They must have the same academic qualifications and professional diplomas as their state colleagues. Schools in this category which are in areas where there is insufficient public

provision are granted *contrato de associaçao* with the state to provide free education on the same terms as state schools and receive the same grants.

Other schools in the same category, most of them Catholic, have a *contrato simple* which awards a partial subsidy as a means of reducing fees on a means-tested basis. A third form of contract, *contrato de patrocínio*, is offered to proprietors of independent schools which have experimental curricula or teaching methods or which were established where state provision is not strong. Under this agreement the state pays 50% of running costs while monitoring courses and awarding status to examinations and arranging for transfer to and from state and other independent schools. Under Law 344/88 schools which are parallel to the state system are eligible for grants for their establishment, for extensions, for experimental programmes and for the purchase of equipment. All schools under contract are compulsorily inspected.

Legally, therefore, freedom of choice, variety and a degree of equality of opportunity without regard to financial status are quite well protected. In practice the weakness of the economy, the dominance of the Catholic Church and the long tradition of bureaucratic methods of administration have continued to hinder expansion and experiment. Some schools use Frenet and Montessori techniques but Portugal has only one recognised Steiner school.

Statistics

The latest government statistics available cover the years 1993/4.

Pre-school. Education at this level is controlled partly by the Ministry of Education and partly by the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. Table 1 shows details of pupils and 'establishments' under each Ministry separately. At this stage teacher:pupil ratios under the Ministry of Education are 1:17 in state and 1:20 in private classes compared with 1:70 and 1:67 respectively under the Ministry of Employment and Social Security.

Basic and Secondary. Table 2 sets out relevant figures for the three stages of basic education and for secondary education in its two main branches, CSPOPE and CT.

Table 1. Preschool

	Min of Ed			Min of ESS		
	state	indep	%	state	indep	%
Pupils	72,428	30,745	29.8	5,309	74,816	93.4
Units	3,237	960	22.87	76	1,115	93.61

Table 2. Basic and Secondary

	cycle	state	indep	%
Basic				
Pupils	1basic	541,387	44,647	7.61
Units		9,639	669	6.94
Pupils	2basic	320,446	28,463	7.15
Units		1,519	239	13.59
Pupils	3basic	409,436	37,240	6.09
Units		975	222	18.54
Secondary				
Pupils	CSPOPE	261,331	20,145	7.16
Pupils	CT	55,589	4,188	7.53
Total pupils	Secondary	316,920	24,333	7.13
Total units		503	160	24.13

3. Management and control

The overwhelming majority of independent schools are Catholic, some controlled by religious orders, some by the Bishops and some owned and run by lay councils, as in Spain. Most other independent schools, with the exception of the highly-esteemed Irish Dominican School and the British schools at Carcavelos (St. Julian's) and Oporto, are privately owned often by the teachers who founded them, but sometimes by educational companies. In addition there is the relatively small number of 'cooperative' schools already referred to which are jointly owned and managed by their members.

There is a single coordinating body - The Association of Private and Cooperative Educational Establishments (*Associação de Representantes de Estabelecimentos de Ensino Particular e Cooperativo, AEEP*) - with some 400 members. It is represented on the Consultative Council (see section 1 above). Like its counterparts in other Latin countries, AEEP is responsible not only for relations with government but also for the negotiation of teachers' and other employees' salaries with the unions concerned. A number of its members provide special education for the handicapped.

Coeducation is normal in most non-confessional schools but is less frequent in Catholic secondary schools. 55 schools are listed as boarding schools, most of them Catholic foundations maintained by the Orders.

Inspection of schools is strict and parallel schools are required to keep very elaborate records of pupils' assessments, attendance and the content of lessons. The small number which have elected for autonomy are burdened with even more paperwork and expense in return for the right to make their own annual assessments, while in parallel schools a state school representative must be brought in before assessments are officially valid.

Fees vary very widely depending on the type of contract, if any, awarded to the school. As already stated, there are no fees in schools with a *contrato de associação* and they are reduced where there is a *contrato simple*. In 1992 international schools like the Dominican school in Lisbon charged a basic fee of more than £4,000 per annum, a sum which was more than doubled at St. Julian's. There are many extras. The average for member schools of AEEP was then about £3,000 per annum in the early stages with rises thereafter. It has not proved possible to obtain more recent information.

4. The status and future of the independent sector

Independent education is not in the political sense a burning issue to the extent it has proved to be under left-wing governments in France and Spain nor does its stamp guarantee an advantage in later life. Portuguese society is still bound by many of the conservative traditions and habits of mind inherited from the past and the church, which once had a monopoly of education under the concordat, is still a very strong influence in daily life and thought. The socialists, while not approving, still pay it due deference. Above all Portugal's increasing involvement in the Common Market and the European Union and in particular in its educational policies has given new impetus to the adoption of European patterns of educational reform. Unemployment and poverty, especially in rural areas, combine to weaken demand for extended education among the young and it was not available in the past for older generations, despite very real efforts to overcome its absence. There is no apparent real threat to the independent sector in political terms unless government swings more radically to the left and the standards of the public system, except where the social background of parents is favourable, encourage those who can afford high fees to choose independent schools, at least for what they feel to be the vital years, alongside those whose choice is based on religious grounds. The schools are valued mainly for the same reasons as their counterparts in other

countries - disciplined learning, teacher, pupil and parental involvement in the school community and the promotion of values based on religious or humanistic creeds. - though in fact, with the exception of some international schools, they are essentially Catholic in allegiance. The sector has some claim to success in promoting education in deprived areas, being less expensive by reason of the special features of the contract system there. Overall its future is bound up with further progress in the modernisation of the Portuguese economy and the country's growing involvement with its European partners.

SPAIN (PRE-REFORM)

<div>COMPULSORY EDUCATION</div> <div></div>	19	UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION	NON-UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION	OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES (FPO) WORKSHOP SCHOOLS SKILLED CRAFT CENTRES	(5)	
	18					
	17	UNIVERSITY ORIENTATION COURSE (COU) (3)	VOCATIONAL TRAINING (FPI) (4)			
	16	INTEGRATED SECONDARY EDUCATION (BUP) (2)	VOCATIONAL TRAINING (FPI) (4)			
	15					
	14	UPPER CYCLE				
	13					
	12					
	11					
	10	BASIC GENERAL EDUCATION (I) (EGB)				
9	INTERMEDIATE CYCLE					
8						
7	LOWER CYCLE					
6						
5	NURSERY SCHOOL (ESCUELA DE PARVULOS)					
4	PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION					
3	KINDERGARTEN (JARDIN DE INFANCIA)					
2						

1.EGB (*Educación General Básica*) or basic general education covers the 8 years (6 to 14 years) of compulsory education. There is no division between primary and lower secondary education. EGB leads to upper secondary education or to lower level vocational training.

2.BUP (*Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente*) comprises general education at upper secondary level, preparing for access to university.

3. COU (*Curso de Orientación Universitaria*) comprises a one-year university orientation course.

4.FPI (*Formación Profesional I*) comprises 2 years of general education and vocational training leading to FPII, the second year of BUP, or employment. FPII comprises 3 years of general education and vocational training leading to certain related university courses, or employment. Evening courses in FP are available for employed persons over 16 (FPI) and 18 (FPII).

5.These training courses can be entered at any stage between 16 and 25. The occupational training programmes (FPO) last 800 hours, training in the workshop schools lasts 1 to 3 years, and in the skilled craft centres 6 to 12 months.

..... = division in the level / type of education.

----- = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education.

SPAIN (POST-REFORM)

<div>COMPULSORY EDUCATION</div> <div></div>	18	UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION	NON-UNIVERSITY LEVEL EDUCATION	HIGHER VOCATIONAL TRAINING (2)	OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FOR WORKING SCHOOLS SKILLED GRADUATES (3)
	17	BACHILLERATO (1)		INTERMEDIATE VOCATIONAL TRAINING (2)	
	16	SECONDARY			
	15	EDUCATION			
	14	2ND CYCLE			
	13	COMPULSORY SECONDARY			
	12	1ST CYCLE			
	11	3RD CYCLE			
	10				
	9	2ND CYCLE			
	8	PRIMARY EDUCATION			
	7	1ST CYCLE			
	6				
	5	2ND CYCLE			
	4				
	3	INFANT EDUCATION			
	2	1ST CYCLE			
	1				
	0				

1. *Bachillerato* comprises general education at upper secondary level providing access to higher education and to employment.

2. Intermediate and Higher Vocational Training comprises specific vocational training for employment. The diploma obtained at the end of Higher Vocational Training will also give direct access to certain related university courses.

3. These training courses can be entered at any age between 16 and 25. The occupational training programmes (FPO) last 800 hours, training in the workshop schools lasts 1 to 3 years, and in skilled craft centres 6 to 12 months.

..... = division in the level / type of education.

--- alternative beginning or end of level / type of education.

The national background

Franco Spain

Until the end of the sixties education in Spain was largely based on conservative, nineteenth century patterns and mainly church-controlled. In 1931 the Republican government, while continuing to respect the rights and responsibilities of parents and the churches, increased the supervisory powers of the state and decreed that education should be free and compulsory at the primary level, with financial help for the needy at all stages. Non-clerical state schools were expanded and religious orders were forbidden to run schools directly and were forced to operate through established limited companies, some of which - for example *Sociedad de Enseñanza Libre* - still exist. Such schools are classed as 'lay' in government statistics. After 1939 Franco reaffirmed the right of all citizens to general and vocational education on Christian lines and to freedom of choice of school, introduced a partial subsidy for private primary education and set about extending the availability of academic secondary education beyond the big city centres. A general law on education promulgated in 1970 (*Ley 14/1970 de Educación y Financiamento de la Reforma Educativa*) contained more fundamental proposals for the extension of equality of opportunity on lines already developing in other European countries. It laid down a pattern of public and private primary and secondary education and of parental rights and duties which has only recently been superseded. Article 5.2 guaranteed parental rights and defined parental choice as follows: *The family has a duty and a primary inalienable right to educate its children. It follows that it is under a legally binding obligation to meet or arrange to meet the established standards of compulsory education, to help its children to take advantage of available opportunities for further education and to foster the functioning of educational establishments.'*

Article 5.3 stated: *'parents...have the right to free choice of legally established schools and to regular information about essential aspects of the educational process.'*

Article 2.2. laid down a pattern of completely free and compulsory basic education (*EGB, Educación General Básica*) from 6+ to 14+, followed for those not going on to academic secondary education by access to the first two-year cycle of vocational training (*FP1 = Formación Profesional*). Both were to be free in both state and independent schools by 1980. Article 96, while giving first priority to the state sector, required economic provision for both types of school at this level to be sufficient to make the principle of free education properly effective.

Academic secondary education (*BUP, Bachillerato Unificado y Polivalente*) was fee-paying in independent schools. This pattern of education was inherited by the restored Kingdom and, under the Socialist Government, which remained in power until 1995, was the subject of complex amendment and development before its gradual replacement by the more typical European system illustrated in the second diagram.

Post-Franco Spain.

The financial crisis which beset Franco's government in the 70s and has continued to plague its successors has prevented full implementation of the economic provision for free education even in the public sector and is still the cause of much public concern among parents and school authorities of all kinds. Education in Spain is seriously underfunded. After Franco's death educational issues were inevitably bound up with the political struggle but the 1978 Constitution of the new Kingdom in Article 27 confirmed the right of parental choice in education established by the law of 1970. It also provided for the distribution of

responsibility for education between the State and the seventeen Autonomous Communities into which Spain is now divided. Under this clause the State, through its Ministry for Education and Culture, retains overall control of policy, standards, financial planning and inspection somewhat on North American lines, while the Communities, each with its own Department of Education, manage their schools with the help of the transfer of necessary funds from the centre. By 1995 seven of the seventeen communities had been granted these rights, the first being Catalonia and the Basque country where the spirit of independence is especially strong. Another important influence had its origins in the highly developed pattern of democratised control enshrined in Spanish labour legislation. This finds one of its strongest expressions in what is called *libertad de cátedra*, the teacher's right to unrestricted independence and freedom of conscience (which can cause problems in the common-rooms of religious-based schools) and in union support for the democratisation of school management.

The effect of these influences can best be illustrated by the terms of recent laws of education. The first of these,

the Organic Law of June 1980, *Ley Organica de Estatutos de Centros Educativos - LOECE*, can only be overturned by an absolute majority of the Cortes. It lays down statutes for educational establishments. Its relevance to independent schools and the disputes it has aroused will be explained more fully in section 4. In 1983 the Socialist Government of Felipe Gonzales, who came to power in 1982, proposed new legislation known by the acronym LODE (*Ley Organica de Derecho a la Educación*) which was designed to guarantee free basic education for all and access for those suited to it to higher levels regardless of means, social status or place of residence. It reaffirmed the constitutional rights of parents to opt for private education and for their children to be given whatever pattern of religious or moral training they preferred; the right of *libertad de cátedra* for teachers; of parents' associations to involve themselves in the educational process; and of pupils to form 'unions' and share in decision-making. Three further sections laid down detailed regulations for state schools, for aided private schools (to be called *concertados*) and for wholly private schools. For *concertados* these imposed government by school councils composed of three 'proprietors', a principal elected by council members, four teachers elected by their colleagues, a representative of the administrative staff, four elected parents and two students. LODE's reception by and relevance to independent schools will be considered in section 4. After protracted argument, it became law in 1985 and became effective in 1986. It was further strengthened in November 1995 by a new law - *Ley Organica de la Participación, la Evaluación y el Gobierno de los Centros Docentes (LOPEG)* - which gives a somewhat greater degree of autonomy at school level to both state and independent schools.

The government also set about a reorganisation of the primary and secondary system to bring it into line with general European practice by extending compulsory general education from 14 to 16. This involved a reorganisation of secondary education into three cycles from 12 to 18, the first two forming *Educación Secundaria Obligatoria*, with a common curriculum and a third, the *Bachillerato*, with a choice of options, leading to higher education. After four years of experiment a new *Ley Organica (LOGSE, Ley Organica de Ordenación del Sistema General Educativa)* was passed in 1990 and the new pattern is working its way up the age range. The new *Bachillerato*, with a choice of four tracks, lasts for two years, from 16 to 18, and is matched by optional two-year courses in different vocational studies. Its implementation is still a cause of much controversy, especially because of the need to retrain teaching staff which it involves.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

The organisation of education in the independent sector, which Spaniards call 'the sector of social initiative', closely follows the pattern of state schools except in British and other foreign schools, for which see section 3 below.

1. Controls.

Aided private schools which have a contract with government (*concertados*) receive subsidy from government under regulations laid down in the appropriate section of LODE and are more strictly subject to control than the minority of entirely self-sufficient institutions, being required to conform to the patterns of organisation and management referred to in section 1 above.

Title IV of LODE sets out in detail the terms of the standard agreement (*concierto*) which governs subsidised primary and lower secondary schools, which are technically at least free. Salaries and running costs are to be paid by government and schools may not charge fees or make a profit. Extras, such as charges for meals, transport or extra-curricular activities, must be authorised by the competent authority. Admission of pupils must be on the same basis as in state schools and teachers, parents and pupils must share in management by representation on the school council. In reality many independent schools at these levels are not yet entirely free since government has found it is unable or is unwilling for political reasons to make the necessary grants in full, so that school trustees are forced to make up the shortfall by charges or in other ways. Many such schools have been forced to close in the last decade.

Agreements are for four years and may then be renewed or modified at government discretion. Priority is given to schools in districts where need or disadvantage is marked. The level of grant is set by the Government's annual Finance Act and may be supplemented by grants for teaching materials and equipment.

Upper secondary schools have individual rather than standard agreements.

Unsubsidised schools must register with the Ministry of Education and Culture and, when this applies, with their autonomous community and must satisfy minimum requirements guaranteeing their educational standards in respect of premises, teacher qualifications, pupil-teacher ratio, equipment and other services. Otherwise they have complete freedom in educational method and policy. Special arrangements apply to schools in membership of the National Association of British Schools in Spain for which see section 3 below.

2. Statistics

a) Pupil numbers and market share

As the national system of education is in process of transition from the old to the new pattern of education described in section 1 it is almost impossible to make statistical analyses comparable to those for other countries. A further complication is that the 7 autonomous communities have their own statistical services, whose methods are not necessarily identical with those of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Madrid which compiles the national summary. Tables which follow therefore show separate figures for two separate programmes - the old EGB, BUP, COU, FP1 and FP2 pattern and the new one consisting of primary, compulsory lower secondary (*Secundaria Obligatoria*) and upper secondary (*Bachillerato Experimental* and *Bachillerato LOGSE*). Only at the end of the century will the reform have entirely replaced the old system.

Official figures for 1989/90 published by Eurydice showed a total school population at all levels of 8,358,907 of whom 2,835,505 were in independent schools. Of these 383,742 (38%) were at pre-school stage, 1,766,232 (34.8%) at EGB level, 422,537 were upper secondary BUP/COU pupils, and 264,294 were in vocational classes making a total of 2,835,505 or 33.92% of the overall total. Table 1 shows the corresponding total figures for 1995-6 and those of the independent sector as a whole for the two systems now running concurrently, with the independent sector now forming only 30.82% of the total provision. The reduction has been especially marked in the pre-school stage.

TABLE 1. Comparison of the public and independent sectors, 1995-6

<i>Level and type of education</i>	<i>total numbers</i>	<i>independent</i>	<i>%</i>
Total, all levels	7,677,771*	2,366,978	30.83
Nursery/pre-escolar	1,106,087	364,122	32.92
Primary/EGB	3,656,050	1,298,850	35.52
Special education	29,389	14,476	49.25
First cycle, new secondary	92,463	46,023	49.70
Second cycle, new secondary	362,695	31,337	8.64
Old BUP/COU	1,258,249	357,090	28.37
Bacchillerato LOGSE	110,116	8,057	7.31
Experimental BAC (vocational)	31,671	12,760	40.28
OLD FP1	306,985	125,579	40.30
Old FP2	412,739	100,734	24.40
New vocational course level 2	30,037	1,706	5.67
New vocational course level 3	33,108	4,435	13.39

* The overall total includes 44,201 taking distance learning who have no parallel in the private sector.

The low percentages in new types of course point to some of the financial limitations on the independent sector compared with the state system.

Provisional figures for Catholic schools for 1995-6 show a total of 1,879,402 or 79.4% of the entire sector. Some 26,000 of this total cover adult education, play groups and non-school numbers. Table 2 shows their distribution at the different stages in Catholic schools..

TABLE 2. The Catholic Schools

<i>Level and type of education</i>	<i>total numbers</i>	<i>% of independent sector</i>
Nursery and Pre-escolar	205,092	56.20
Primary/EGB	865,952	66.67
Special education	4,560	31.50
Old BUP/COU	239,340	67.02
FP 1	56,415	42.92
FP 2	40,287	39.99
New secondary cycles 1 and 2	60,082	77.66
New Bacchillerato LOGSE	4,992	61.95
New vocational courses	3,087	9.32

B. The sexes are in rough terms evenly divided at most levels, except for the old FP courses and the new vocational courses.

b) Teacher-pupil ratios and class sizes

According to Ministry statistics 79,149 or 26% of a total of 470,530 teachers at all levels work in the sector, more than half of them at the pre-school and Primary/EGB level. In this

independent sector there has been a 2.6% reduction at the lower level and a 4.5% increase at secondary level.

The overall teacher:pupil ratio in independent schools at nursery, primary/EGB levels is 21:1 but varies from 27:1 to 20:1 in the autonomous regions, compared with 16.63:1 in the public sector. In the Ministry-controlled area it is 21.79:1. At secondary level it is 13.67:1 in state schools and 15.9:1 in independent schools.

c) *Fees*

Fees in all aided schools in 1995-6 were as follows:

Pre-escolar (not aided)	5,000 - 25,000 pesetas per month for 9 months
Primary/EGB	full subsidy nil
Lower sec.	full subsidy nil
BUP,COU/	25,000 - 30,000 pesetas per month for 9 months,
New Bacchilerato	25,000 - 30,000 pesetas per month for 9 months
FP1	full subsidy
FP2	partly subsidised. Fee - roughly P2,000 per month.

Fees in non-subsidised schools show wide differences at all levels.

d) *Scholarship grants (Becas), and capital grants and loans*

Grants to pupils: Grants of P33,000 are available at pre-escolar level in case of need. There are no grants for EGB/Primary and Lower Secondary levels since education there is nominally at least free. Pupils who qualify at BUP and FP2 levels receive P65,000. These figures vary considerably in the autonomous regions.

Capital grants and loans: In 1995/6 as in previous years governments made minimal capital loans or grants worth between 100 and 200 million pesetas

3. The organisation of the independent sector.

a) *'Church' and 'Neutral' Schools*

More than half of all private schools are owned and directed by the Catholic hierarchy and the religious orders. Of the remainder, the lay or 'neutral' schools, some, for example those belonging to the Opus Dei group, are closely associated with the church, while others are unaffiliated. Since 1978 when 57.5% were Church and Orders schools the ratio has moved further in their favour, although there has been a steady decrease in numbers in the sector as a whole, much of which must be attributed to the government's unwillingness and financial inability to make independent *concertados* genuinely free to parents and the consequent closure of schools and b) to the imposition of a legal limit on class sizes to 25 at primary, 20 at secondary and 35 at upper secondary level alongside a refusal of permission to provide additional classrooms to supplement the original agreed number when the schools was opened. In one typical school this has involved a reduction in numbers of 885 pupils in 12 years. It is the main reason for the lower total of pupils in Catholic schools..

In 1989/90, before the changes in the system were in force, the Catholic schools claimed to have educated 22.7% of all pupils in Pre-escolar, (which is now being replaced by *Educación Infantil* in two cycles from 0 to 3 and 3 to 6 years and remains optional), 22.6% in EGB, 17.2% in BUP/COU and 14% in FP1 and 2. Current figures are likely to be somewhat lower.

b) *Coordination*

There is no single coordinating body, although both governing bodies or owners, teachers

and parents are represented on the State Schools Council and on the Schools Councils of the Autonomous Communities. While Catholic schools come under the supervision of the church authorities or the Orders, they, like other members of the independent sector, are normally in membership of one or more of the five organisations which look after the interests of the different types of independent school, some of which receive grants from government for research and teacher-training. Throughout 1996 they have been busily organising training plans and congresses subsidised by grants of more than Pesetas 2,000,000 from government for the promotion of 'ongoing training'.

They are:

FERE - Federación Española de Religiosos de la Enseñanza, founded in 1958, is primarily an association of schools supervised by the religious orders. It has about 1912 member schools, is controlled by a Board and an assembly of Provincials. It has well-organised branch associations in the provinces and autonomous regions. Its Director, Angel Astorgano Ruiz, is a member of the European Committee for Catholic Education. FERE campaigns vigorously through the press and in its own journal for freedom of choice and the religious dimension in education and against government discrimination against private schools. It maintains a highly efficient statistical department for all aspects of Catholic education and a publicity office. It works closely with:

EyG - Confederación de Centros Educación y Gestión, is a more recently formed association of Governing Bodies of Catholic Schools which was instigated by FERE to coordinate management policy in the Catholic schools, to represent them with government, the unions and the general public and to promote the use of new technologies. The Confederación is in membership of the European Council of National Associations of Independent Schools (ECNAIS). Its President, Luis Alvarez Torres, has been appointed, not without opposition, to the advisory State Educational Council and its membership includes more than 95% of Catholic aided schools.

EyG is now the main negotiator of national pay scales and conditions of service for the independent sector with the seven teachers' unions, (including FESIE which caters for independent school teachers) as well as for maintaining links with the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The **Confederación Española de Centros de Enseñanza (CECE)**, founded in 1977, has as its objectives the defence of the principle of freedom in education, of sufficient and equal financial provision for pupils in both public and private education and of freedom of parental choice. With the establishment of EyG as the main representative of Catholic governors, its membership now includes only a small number of Catholic schools, mostly those affiliated to FOMENTO, a group of Opus Dei schools (see below) with a membership of more than thirty. Its main membership now consists of associations of private schools at national and local level, many of them specialising in vocational courses outside the state provision, for example in hairdressing, languages, tourism and driving. CECE is organised in provincial associations with their own officers and councils. Its President, a member of Opus Dei, is Felix Falcón. CECE is also a member of ECNAIS.

The **Asociación de Centros Autónomos de la Enseñanza (ACADE)** represents some 150 of the 250 independent schools which do not qualify or do not wish for state subsidies. Many of them in Madrid, which charge high fees and cater for the non-church élite and the professional classes. Many of them were founded by teachers but are now limited companies. They tend to be better staffed and provided than the average and their old-boy networks are strong and influential in later life. In the last four years ACADE has also established

agreements with associations of infant schools, language, dance schools and non-official music conservatories outside the state system.

What may be called **Opus Dei Schools** include several groups of expensive, very well-founded Catholic schools indirectly controlled or influenced by Opus Dei. The FOMENTO group mentioned above, whose schools are mainly in the Madrid area, is, as was stated above, in membership of CECE and another, IFE, has six member schools in Barcelona. The schools are owned, technically at least, by parent groups and a small number receive subsidy.

Lay cooperative schools. These are groups of 'open' experimental schools often with a strong affiliation with regional movements and are financed through parents' cooperatives. They are particularly strong in the Basque region and in Catalonia and are represented nationally by CECE in Madrid.

The **National Association of British Schools in Spain, NABSS**, was founded in 1978. It embraces schools throughout Spain and the Spanish islands, ranging from nursery to secondary level. All must be authorised by the Spanish Ministry of Education. Many of them, termed 'mixed schools', are required to have a minimum of 25% of Spaniards on their roll and must offer secondary courses in Spanish Language and Literature and Social Studies which are supervised by Ministry inspectors and are recognised as equivalent to those in Spanish schools. One of the largest is King's College in Madrid, with more than 1200 day and boarding pupils from nursery to VIth form level. It offers courses leading to both English and Spanish examinations.

All foreign schools must be vouched for by the appropriate embassy and British schools are inspected by British inspectors through the agency of the British Council. The strength of these schools and their attraction to Spanish parents give them a special importance paralleled by the popularity of English Language Schools for adults. A small number of 'pure' schools offer a completely British education but may not admit Spanish pupils. There are also two associations of parents, one (CONCAPA) for Catholic schools and the other (CEAPA) more general. The Students' Union, CANAE (*la Confederación Autónoma Nacional de Asociaciones de Estudiantes*) has as its main purpose the support of the constitutional freedom of choice in education.

4. The status and future of the independent sector (*el sector de iniciativa social*)

Since the re-establishment of the Spanish Kingdom there have been two main areas of concern amongst Spanish independent schools which depend on financial support from the state - firstly, their inability to achieve parity of funding with the state sector, without which most of them believe real freedom of choice and equality of opportunity are not attainable and which they argue is implicit in the constitution; and secondly the threat to independence which was implicit in the 1980 Law of Education (*LOECE*) - viz: the requirement to establish governing councils including amongst others teachers, parents and non-teaching staff and the consequent loss of control by church authorities or owners. This threat was intensified in 1982 when the socialist government led by Felipe Gonzales took office and declared, like socialist governments in France, a preference for a single, lay state system of education. Its new law of education, LODE, while doing lip service to the constitutional guarantees, contained new measures which the schools feared would further threaten their independence. There was talk of a *guerre scolaire* and legal action succeeded in amending and delaying the ratification of the law until 1986. It in theory provided free education at EGB and FP1 levels in subsidised independent schools (see section 3 above) but government hostility and the chronic weakness of the economy combined to leave them underfunded in comparison with

their state equivalents, which were themselves poorly staffed and equipped in comparison with many European counterparts. Since schools under contract cannot legally charge fees and are rarely in a position to find extra finances, staffing ratios, general provision and morale suffered and more than 400 schools have abandoned their contracts. The financial problems were even more acute at upper secondary level (BUP/COU), which were at best only partially subsidised and dependent on fees, and also at nursery/preschool level where the state by providing extra free places lessened their appeal.

To add to their concern, the introduction of the new European system under LOGSE in 1990 raised the compulsory age of education to 16 with the need for revision of subsidies. For the independent sector it did little to lessen the shortfall in grant compared with the state system, although the 1995 law, LOPEG, did increase the autonomy of heads and schools somewhat. The new LOGSE pattern has still not fully replaced the old pattern and is still underfunded, especially in terms of buildings and equipment, a problem which is inevitably more acute in the independent sector despite valiant efforts to cope. Its implementation in both public and independent sectors depends on a massive and expensive programme of re-equipment and of retraining for teachers. This puts a heavy burden on independent schools and has been difficult to sell to conservative school staffs. If anything their grants have become less generous and even the extension of 'free' education to 16 implied in the new pattern by the extension of compulsory education has proved contentious.

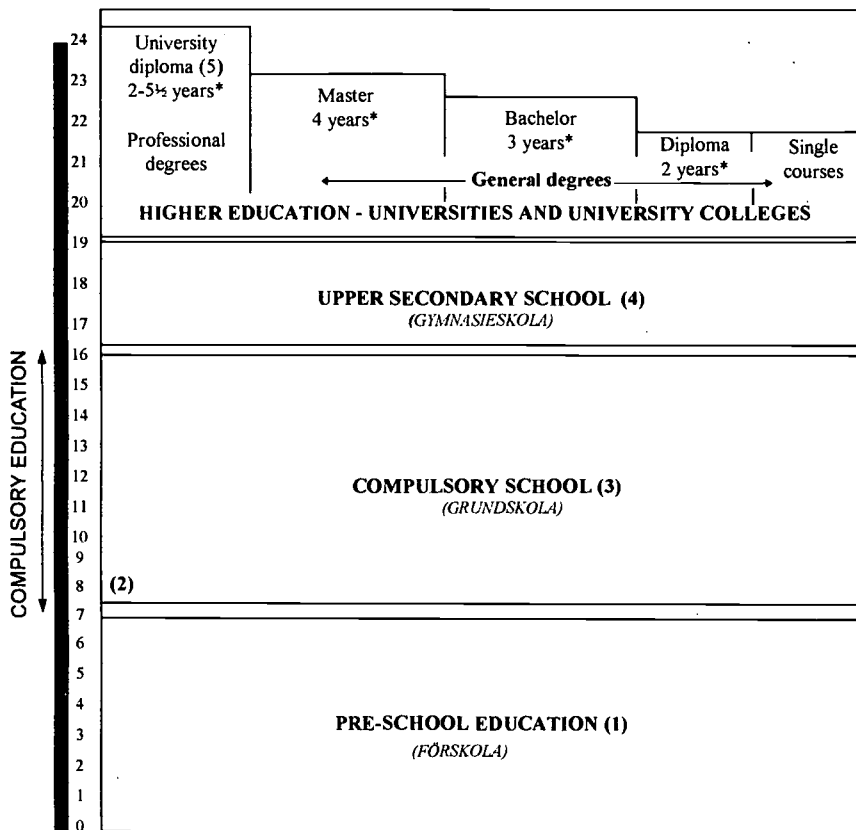
The independent sector in Spain, with its predominance of church schools, has been less successful so far than its mostly church-based equivalents in France, Holland and Belgium in resisting attack from the left and obtaining parity of funding with state schools. Nevertheless, it is twice the size of its French equivalent in which 95% of all independent schools are confessional schools under contract. It is also far larger than the independent sector in Germany where confessional and lay schools alike which conform to state patterns receive 75% subsidy and are in most Länder free of serious left-wing attack. There is a notable absence of schools offering special pedagogical programmes such as Montessori and Steiner. Only two Steiner schools are listed.

As in other EU countries opinion polls show strong support for freedom and parental choice but the expansion of state provision in rural areas, underfunding and rising costs are slowly diminishing it, despite parental preference for the discipline, devotion and involvement of pupils and teachers which are the secret of success in the independent sector. Much depends on the attitude of the new 'centre' government and its ability to give the financial help needed, although Catholic parents of all classes will continue to make sacrifices to send their children to church schools.

The schools' problems are both helped and hindered by other strands in Spanish society - the debates about regional autonomy and devolution, trades union rights including those of freedom of conscience for teachers, democratic participation in management and the competing claims of secularism and Christianity. Spain is still coming to terms with its entry into the European Community and learning with real success to adjust a complicated and hierarchical society, which under forty years of totalitarian rule remained largely unaffected by the current of social change operating in its neighbour democracies. This is to say nothing of the bewildering problems of economic survival and the satisfaction of the differing demands of increasing pluralism in its body politic. On all fronts progress has been impressive but in education as in other things there is a lot of leeway still to make up and a good deal of latent conservatism amongst school governors and teachers. As economic pressures are lessened it should be possible, given the necessary good-will and a friendly government, to lessen by degrees the shortfall in subsidy which has been so resented by the

schools under the present system. Whether those who fight for absolute parity with state schools in terms of funding are right to campaign for it is an open question. The price here as elsewhere is inevitably the loss of the right to charge fees apart from extras, restricted opportunity for experiment and above all the lack of variety in educational provision and consequently in parental choice.

SWEDEN



1. In pre-school education there are several institutions catering for the 0 to 6/7 age range: day care centres (*daghem*), part-time groups (*deltidsgrupper*) and open pre-school institutions (*öppen förskola*).
2. Since 1991, children have the right to start compulsory school at the age of six years, if their parents so desire, and if the municipality has the capacity to provide this opportunity. This option should be available in all municipalities by the school year 1997/98.
3. The compulsory school is attended by children aged 6/7 to 16 years. It is a comprehensive coeducational school designed to accommodate all members of the young generation.
4. In the new comprehensive upper secondary school, introduced in 1992 and to be fully implemented at the beginning of the school year 1995/96, all education is organized in study programmes of three years' duration. There are to be 16 nationally determined programmes, 14 of which are primarily vocationally oriented and two preparing primarily for university studies.
5. The professional degrees awarded at universities and university colleges (*högskola*) are obtained upon completion of programmes of varying length (2 to 5 1/2 years). The programmes lead to specific professions, e.g. University Diploma in Medicine or in Education (for Upper Secondary School).

SWEDEN

The national background.

Sweden is the third biggest country in Western Europe and like Norway is sparsely populated with only 19 inhabitants to the square kilometre overall despite densely populated areas around the three main cities, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. It has a constitutional monarchy and a Lutheran State Church to which some 95% of Swedes are said to belong, though in recent years there has been a marked increase, due to immigration, in the numbers of Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Muslim adherents. The tradition of democratic socialism, which is common to other Scandinavian countries, was in Sweden more firmly and uncompromisingly incorporated in its government policies and expressed in the mechanisms of a bureaucratic and all-embracing welfare state during the long tenure of more or less uninterrupted power by the Social Democratic party from 1932 to 1976. Subsequent coalitions maintained the social and educational *status quo* until the elections of September 1991 brought a real change in the balance of political power and gave new encouragement to the tiny independent school sector which had barely survived in the face of public opposition - although in the first half of the nineteenth century, as in other countries, most Swedes were educated at home or in an extensive network of private schools.

The new government's legislation provided for free parental choice of school between municipal and independent schools with public funding following the pupil to the school of choice. The result was a massive expansion of independent education of various kinds. The return of the Social Democratic party to power in 1994 seems likely to prove less encouraging to the sector, whose subsidies have already been reduced. A recent proposal favours more control by local authorities and a decision about further controls was mooted for autumn 1996.

The system of primary and secondary education is coeducational and comprehensive in the compulsory 9-year *grundskola* (primary and lower secondary) from 7-16 years of age. Under new regulations parents can choose whether their children start school at six or seven and in the near future six will become the statutory age, with an extension of the course to ten years in all.

The upper secondary school had traditionally offered a variety of disciplines with courses of different lengths, most of which were professional and vocational. A new Education Act passed in July 1992 requires municipalities to provide upper secondary education for all *grundskola* leavers, who must have achieved 'passes' in Swedish, English and mathematics at the end of their course. Under the new regulations about 95% of pupils who complete their course at 16 apply and 35% take the academic option. (See diagram for details).

Education policy is determined by Parliament and curricula at government level. The new curriculum now being introduced allows more freedom of choice and greater concentration on selected subjects. Its implementation is the task of the National Board of Education (*Skolverket*), but much power of control has been decentralised to municipal education committees and to school staffs without the intervention of school councils and governing bodies. Running costs are shared equally between state and municipality, fees are not permitted in state schools and medical care and transport are free at compulsory level and often at upper secondary. There are no public examinations at either level but there are compulsory leaving certificates at both, based on continuous evaluation and marks, with achievement tests in some subjects for upper secondary pupils.

There is no national system of inspection, Assessment is made by Local Education Authorities but inspections are infrequent and are directed to self-improvement.

Home schooling is not legal in Sweden.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR.

1. Control and subsidies 1962 - 1991.

The Education Act of 1962, while giving little encouragement to independent schools, made it possible for private persons or groups to provide for their children's education but required the municipal authorities to ensure that the requirement for nine years of compulsory education was respected. Until the change of government in autumn 1991, limited subsidies from state and municipal funds were available to a very small number of schools for the compulsory years. They were administered by local education authorities, but, apart from a number of private day nurseries and nursery schools which do not form part of the school system, independent schools in the thirty years up to 1992 accounted for less than 2% at most of the total educational provision and less than 1% in schools at primary and lower secondary level. There were also two subsidised boarding schools for children whose parents mostly lived abroad.

A third and growing group, including the 32 Steiner schools and some evangelical Christian schools, received direct state subsidy. The schools in this group could only be approved under Swedish Law by the National Board of Education. The criteria for approval were, in summary, firstly that the school must aim at providing an education which essentially corresponds with that of the common school both in terms of learning and the general development of its pupils and secondly that it must embrace the general values and rules for the development of Swedish society as laid down for the common school.

Tertiary education was and remains almost entirely in the public domain with two exceptions, the Stockholm School of Economics and the City University of Stockholm.. The latter is a private and independent 'school' without any state subsidies. Folk High Schools for adult students (cf. Denmark) are roughly half-supported by state funds and are directed by religious, ideological or trades union sponsors.

2) Independent schools post-1991.

Under the new regime announced on December 6th, 1991, grants to independent schools require the approval of the government and the Ministry of Education. The *Skolverket* published in early December details of a new and more liberal pattern of grants for 1991/2 and proposals for new legislation which the coalition government put before Parliament in the spring of 1992. The new law made possible parental choice between 1) schools in their own or another municipality, 2) an independent school, 3) an 'intermediate' school where the municipality cooperates with an independent or 4) a 'specialised' municipal school on independent lines. At *Grundskola* level independents were to receive the equivalent grant to that of state schools, though 15% at most might be retained by the municipality to pay for the disabled and other costs. Fees charged by independent schools were to be monitored by the National Agency for Education and must not be for things not included in state or municipal provision.

When the new legislation came in there were about 100 independent schools at primary and secondary level in Sweden. Two years later this number had doubled and to-day they number about 340. They fall into six different groups as follows:

International or ethnic schools	15%
Montessori schools	25%
Waldorf (Rudolf Steiner) schools	15%
Other pedagogical types	5%
Confessional Schools, including evangelical groups	15%
Neutral schools without special allegiance, (often founded by local initiative in opposition to the municipality)	25%

Most of them do not attempt to increase revenue by charging fees to compensate for the deduction from state grants by municipal authorities. Some authorities waive the deductions where cooperation is good.

The schools are represented and coordinated by three national organisations:

Sveriges Kristna Friskolerod (SKrF), the Council of Christian Free Schools in Sweden, has a majority of Christian Schools in membership, including a few Christian gymnasia. It liaises with government and municipal authorities about common interests, especially Christian ones, and opposes the bias which exists in some LEA decisions about grants. It has 32 members widely spread throughout Sweden with more than 2,500 pupils in all.

Some nineteen schools throughout the country belong to the *Steinerskolefederationen* in Stockholm and there is a small number unaffiliated.

A new organisation called the National Assembly of Independent Schools, *Friskolornas Riksförbund* was created in 1995 and is actively engaged in development of the independent sector.

All three organisation are directly or indirectly in membership of ECNAIS and are active in supporting the cause of independence.

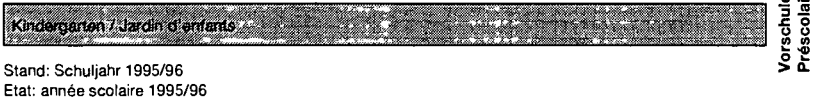
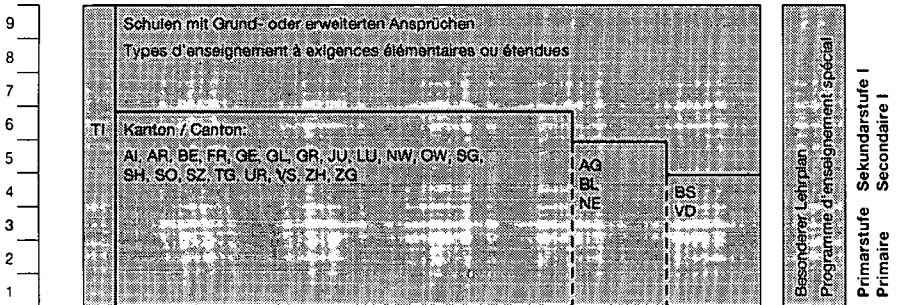
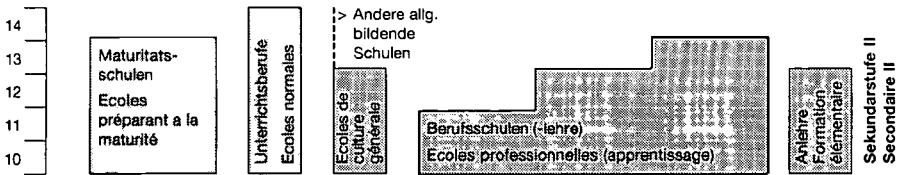
The recent change of government and the resulting return to policies which are unfriendly both to variety and to freedom from central and local government controls seems, as was suggested above, likely to result in further restrictions in future legislation. The schools' main defender is the Centre Party, while the Environmentalists side with the Socialist majority. Nevertheless, the appeal of freedom of choice and variety of method is strongly established and will be defended with zeal and determination by its champions. An OECD survey, (*School. A Matter of Choice, OECD, 1994, Paris*) comments rather dourly that in the long term the effect increased freedom of choice will have on the school system is likely to be limited in the main by consumer attitudes. Swedish parents, the report says, have been mostly happy with the state system but have lacked influence. Giving parents the power of choice has not greatly altered their customary selection of the municipal schools but has started to change parental relations with and influence in the schools. Most Swedes, it suggests, perceive schools as being of equal educational quality and do not believe that going to what they see as a "middle class" school automatically gives a child an educational advantage.

SWITZERLAND

Schulsystem der Schweiz (vereinfacht) Système scolaire suisse (simplifié)



Klasse / Année de programme
Lehrjahr / Année d'apprentissage



Auskünfte / Renseignements:

Schulen, Berufsausbildung / Ecoles, formation professionnelle: 031 322 87 16
Hochschulen / Hautes écoles: 031 322 87 97

SWITZERLAND

The national background

Switzerland is a confederation of 26 largely independent and self-governing cantons which are nevertheless bound together by a strong sense of national identity. Its Federal Constitution dates from 1848 and is still the main-spring of national life. Decision by consultation and referenda is a first principle both at federal and cantonal level. Its roughly 7.02 million people, of whom 1.3 million are permanently resident aliens, speak, according to statistics for 1990, four national languages in the following proportions - French 19.2%, German 63.7%, Italian 7.6% and Romanche 0.6% - each with a variety of internal dialects within the regions in which they predominate. 8.9% speak other languages. Trilingualism is by no means uncommon, especially at federal level. Almost 46% of the population claim allegiance to the Protestant faith, first established by Zwingli in Zurich and Calvin in Geneva. About 46% are Roman Catholics and about 7.5% are of other faiths or agnostic. In economic terms the Swiss are a nation of largely salaried employees engaged in industry, crafts and trades and in the provision of services, notably banking, insurance and tourism. Only 5% now work on such land as is cultivable.

The educational system

There is really no national pattern or system of education since legal responsibility rests with each of the 26 cantons and despite some attempts at co-ordination there are in fact 26 different laws of education and 26 different systems. It is important to remember that until the creation of the confederation in 1848 education in Switzerland, as in other countries, was largely in the hands of the churches. The strong liberal and radical influences in the new confederation, which were anti-clerical in bias, used the constitution to establish the basis of a neutral, state-controlled system in opposition to the confessional schools but left legislation on independent schools to the separate cantons. During the following years the educational system was influenced by pioneers like Pestalozzi and in this century by Piaget and his colleagues in other lands.

a) Federal responsibility

Article 27 of the Federal Constitution requires each canton to provide adequate primary education free of charge in public schools open to children of all faiths and ensuring entire freedom of thought and belief. Various sub-paragraphs provide for subsidies for educational research and other projects and authorise the federal authorities to give instructions about PE and sport and to legislate on vocational training, which accordingly is centrally controlled.

Article 49 declares that freedom of conscience and creed shall be inviolable and that parents have the right to give their child religious instruction until his or her 16th birthday. All federal legislation about education stems from Article 27. Amendments to it which would have given the federal authorities a greater share in the control of higher education were finally defeated after much debate; but an ongoing consultation conducted with typical thoroughness and impartiality is preparing for a possible revision of the constitution. Amongst educational topics raised for consideration is an evaluation of the role of private as opposed to public education and of the parental right to choose how and in which kind of school their children should be educated.

b) *The Cantons*

Each canton has its own distinct laws of education. These show great diversity in detail and are the more confusing since primary education is often interpreted to mean compulsory education from 6 to 15+, including what is normally termed 'lower secondary'. While the canton is responsible for the organisation, management and supervision of education in its territory, these duties are mainly devolved to local and municipal authorities. Major changes in cantonal educational law must be submitted to referendum and involve much popular interest and discussion.

c) In recent years some greater coordination of the 26 systems has been achieved through the Conference of Directors of Education (EDK) and the legally-binding Concordat on School Coordination to which 20 cantons subscribed in 1974, committing themselves to a common policy on the duration of compulsory schooling, on arrangements for university education and on the school year. Nevertheless differences still exist over all these matters and problems of mobility and transfer are compounded by differences in mother tongue and tradition.

An indication of the main lines of organisation will be found in the diagram.

Though some innovation and reform in teaching methods and objectives have occurred in recent years the system is still in principle hierarchical and selective and it lays great stress on vocational training and apprenticeship after the completion of compulsory education for those who do not go on to an academic or technical higher secondary course and to higher education. Much teacher training still begins at 16, partially in private institutions. The EDK is campaigning vigorously for a fundamental reform of the whole system, including the transformation of some higher education institutions into High Schools and the foundation of new ones in time for the millenium.

Pre-primary education is from 3+ to 5+ in kindergartens or infant schools. Private schools charge fees and may receive subsidy in some cantons. Montessori and Decroly methods predominate in French-speaking areas.

The primary stage normally lasts for four or six years but in many cantons continues alongside lower-secondary to the end of compulsory education. Instruction is by non-specialist teachers.

Lower secondary education from 11, 12 or 13 to 15+ is semi-selective with two or three streams of varying types leading to academic or vocational training or providing basic general education. Brighter pupils transfer to upper secondary at 13.

There are two main types of upper secondary education. The first, from 13+ or 15+ to 19, is in a *gymnasium*, *collège* or *lycée* according to canton. It prepares for the *maturité*, now reorganised as a single examination to replace the original 5 separate types, which admits to HE and university courses. The examination is either school-based and subject to appraisal and recognition or is set by the Federal Commission. The second type is provided in *Diplommatschulen*, *écoles de degré diplôme*, which offer a two- or three-year general education from 15+ to 17+, mainly for students going on to vocational training, for example as medical auxiliaries or infant teachers.

The majority of school leavers at 15+ opt either for an apprenticeship involving part-time study at a vocational school or for a full-time technical or vocational school which may be either public or private, both types being subsidised by the confederation and by trade associations. These schools cover a vast range including arts and crafts, business and administration, public order, social services, etc., and lead to a diploma. More able students can go on to more advanced HE courses, including those of the *écoles techniques supérieures*.

At tertiary level there are eight cantonal universities, two federal universities of technology and a number of special teacher-training institutions. Teacher-training differs from canton to canton. Pre-primary and primary teachers may begin training at 16 for five years or at 19 for three if they have a *maturité*. Lower secondary teachers attend a Teacher Training College and gain a diploma. Gymnasium teachers require a university degree or *licence* followed by two years of supervised training and usually specialise in no more than two subjects. Reform of teacher training is currently much to the fore with the intention of bringing all its forms to degree level and ensuring greater common ground between the different kinds of course. Teachers in state schools are, as in Germany, civil servants.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. Independent schools are of two kinds - those which offer an alternative to the state and cantonal system at different levels and those which are designed primarily for foreigners and whose education programme is independent of the Swiss system. There is some overlap but only the first category figures in official statistics.

2. Legal status.

There is nothing in the Swiss Constitution about parental rights of choice and variety in the educational system, though Switzerland fully recognises the relevant clauses in the European and other international declarations of human rights. The status of independent schools is, however, recognised and determined by cantonal educational laws which differ considerably in attitude. Overall the official attitude is one of tolerance rather than active support. Details may be found in *Le droit de choisir librement son école. Déclarations et documents législatifs internationaux et suisses sous l'aspect particulier du financement*, (Lucerne, Centre pédagogique des catholiques suisses, 1996). In general the laws require official recognition and supervision of independent schools by the cantonal authority, adequate premises, qualified teachers and conformity with state programmes and examinations during the years of compulsory education. In some cantons there is provision for subsidy if, like *Ersatzschulen* in the Federal Republic of Germany, the school fulfils the function of a public school and so supplements the public provision. The cantons of Graubünden and Zug amongst others use private schools as part of their official systems especially at higher secondary level. In Geneva Article 13 of the *Règlement relatif à l'enseignement privé* establishes an advisory commission on independent education.

3. Statistics.

Schools other than those catering for international students and examinations number something less than 500. They are found at all levels and include vocational schools, some of which train teachers for primary schools. In 1994/5 out of a total school population of 1,155,135 (excluding 42,304 in special schools), 69,444 pupils (6.01%) attended aided and unaided independent schools. Table 1 below, which sets out their distribution at the four main levels of education, shows clearly that they are of little importance at primary level, where free 'neutral' schools are the norm. At secondary level the comparative lack of state provision over the years and the special attention paid by the federal authorities to vocational training have helped to encourage independent provision and to widen parental choice. One result has been the foundation of many confessional boarding schools and schools dedicated to alternative philosophies such as those of Steiner, Decroly and Montessori.

TABLE 1, School population in state and independent schools (1994/5).

Type	Total	state	aided ind	unaided	%ind/st
Pre-primary	154,850	144,937	737	9,176	6.4%
Primary	437,444	426,998	1,184	9,262	0.02%
Lower secondary	284,516	268,849	3,264	12,403	5.51%
Higher secondary	278,325	244,907	16,271	17,147	12.01%
Special educn.	42,312	33,770	8,071	471	20.18%
Total	1,155,133	1,085,691	21,456	47,988	6.01%

NB. The figures for higher secondary schools include those attending vocational schools and teacher training institutions for primary teachers.

3. The organisation and coordination of independent schools.

Independent schools in Switzerland, as in many other countries, may be privately owned by individuals or groups, form private companies, be non-profit-making (with some tax advantages) or form charitable institutions (*Stiftung*).

Most of the 400 independent schools of aided and unaided type belong to one of four organisations which in 1980 came together to form an umbrella organisation under the title, Association of Swiss Private Schools (*Communauté de travail des écoles privées suisses/Arbeitsgemeinschaft Schweizerischer Privatschulen, ASP*) with an office in Lucerne.

The three member associations are:

1) The Swiss Federation of Private Schools (*Fédération Suisse des Écoles Privées, FSEP/Verband Schweizerischer Privatschulen, VSP*), now nearly a hundred years old, whose membership of about 260 includes most of the international schools and some special schools known as the Language Schools Group.

2) The Conference of Catholic Schools in Switzerland (*Conférence des écoles catholiques de la Suisse, CECS/Konferenz Katholischer Schulen und Erziehungsinstitutionen der Schweiz, KKSE*) with nearly 100 members, which is now fifty years old.

3) The Advisory Association of Rudolf Steiner Schools (*Communauté de travail des écoles Rudolf Steiner en Suisse/Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Rudolf Steiner Schulen in der Schweiz*) with 38 members.

The former Association of Protestant Schools in Switzerland has been dissolved and replaced by an informal group of nearly 20 schools (*Écoles évangéliques en Suisse/Evangelischeschulen in der Schweiz*) which also has representation in the ASP.

Some schools are members of more than one association. The almost 20 'alternative' schools form a fifth grouping (*Association suisse des écoles nouvelles, ASEN/Vereinigung freier schulen der Schweiz*).

There are two directories, one published by VSP and the other by KKSE. Both contain details of courses, examinations, languages, etc. The lists include not only formal nursery, primary and secondary schools but also domestic science, secretarial and commercial colleges, language schools, institutions for training medical assistants and evening and holiday courses as well as establishments specialising in foreign examinations. Many combine day and boarding pupils and are coeducational. Some are very large concerns or businesses offering a wide variety of courses in all fields of education. Details of these associations will be found in Appendix 1.

4. FEES.

These range widely and are markedly lower when a subsidy is given by the canton.

For 1996/7 fees in private primary schools ranged from SF9,000 for day pupils to SF40,000

for boarders. Fees in a Montessori primary school were SF9,000 and in a Steiner school SF6,500 a year for day pupils on average but in Steiner schools they are usually fixed by discussion with parents and graded according to income.

Fees at a Protestant academic secondary school ranged from about SF27,000, while at a Catholic lower secondary school they were SF 9,000 for day pupils and SF21,000 for boarders.

There are income-based tax advantages for less well-off parents in certain schools and some cantons pay the fees of pupils attending independent schools when no similar public school exists in their area.

5. The status and future of the independent sector

The fact that, despite the subsidisation of some independent schools and parents from cantonal funds, the independent sector educates under 7% of the school population has to some extent a parallel in Sweden, where the figure is much smaller still. The causes lie partly in the strongly radical and liberal tendencies of Swiss democracy with its reliance on referenda and a marked inclination to anti-clericalism and partly in the diversity of policy and approach caused by racial and cultural differences and by the lack of a federally established system of education. Even when the Federal Government is directly concerned, as for example when in spring 1990 it approved a large credit for the improvement of vocational training, the independent schools suspected discrimination in favour of the public sector in its application.

Like their German neighbours and unlike British independent schools, independent schools in Switzerland operate beyond the field of general academic education in a wide range of vocational and professional training and they also include the international schools which recruit round the world. For those in the main stream curricula follow traditional Swiss patterns, while in the international schools English and American patterns predominate. Parents who favour more child-centred methods are well provided for by Montessori and Decroly schools and in the last decade the growth in numbers and popularity of Steiner schools has been rapid.

The different associations campaign with increasing insistence for a more liberal attitude from state and cantonal authorities and a greater understanding generally of the importance of variety and choice in education as a means of ensuring a tolerant and responsible adult society. They stress their adaptability, their record of educational experiment and their ability to respond to a wide range of educational demand alongside and in collaboration with the state schools; and in particular they emphasise the importance of the choice afforded by Catholic and Protestant schools of an education based on Christian principles in a community in which parents, teachers and pupils are jointly involved.

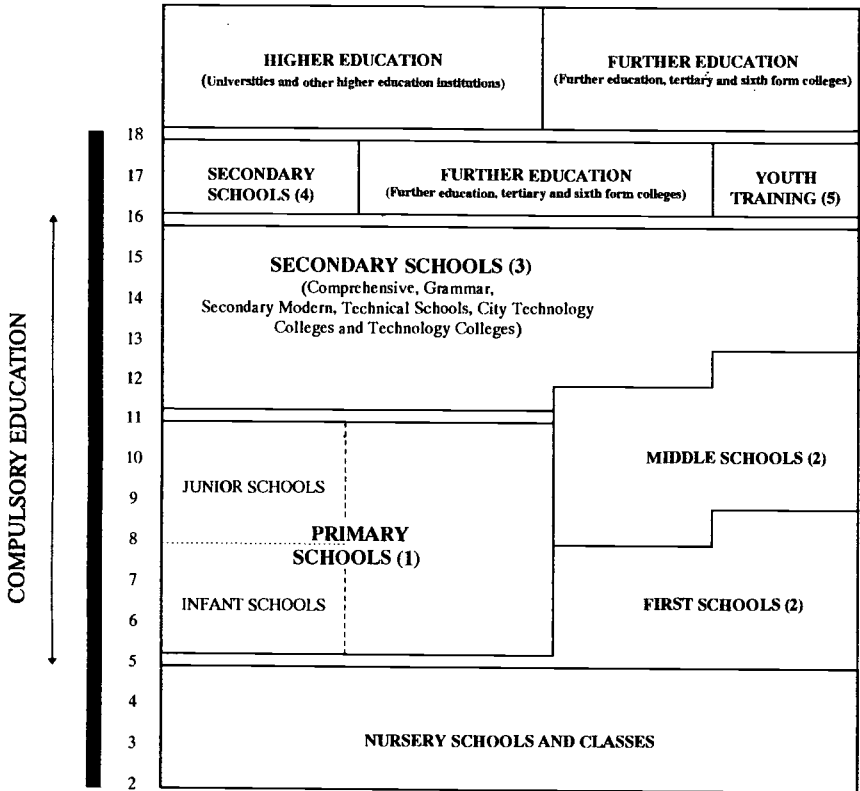
Their main published aims include:

- a) support for the proposal of the Federal Education Council for the amendment of the constitution to provide that 'the state supports the establishment and use of private educational institutions' on the grounds that an extension of state subsidy increases educational opportunity and furthers educational change.
- b) persuading the public that the rights of choice set out in the various Declarations of Human Rights can only be made effective if direct or indirect state subsidies to independent schools help parents to use them freely, regardless of their ability to pay full or part fees.
- c) the submission of proposals to those cantonal parliaments which do not subsidise fees for the provision of tax-reliefs or vouchers to parents.

As a recent OECD report on Sweden suggested, it is by no means certain that in Switzerland ingrained preferences for the established cantonal systems would be greatly influenced by the offer of easier access to the private sector. Even when they are subsidised, places at independent schools are relatively expensive. Some friendly critics do not deny that they contribute to the efficiency of national education through the competition and innovation they provide, but nevertheless stress the importance of avoiding the creation of an élite system which gives unfair advantage to children of the well-off and would prefer not to see private schools as a separate alternative to the state system.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND AND WALES



1. Some areas have separate schools, known as infant and junior schools, within primary education. Infant schools and primary schools may include pupils in nursery classes.
2. Two tier (primary and secondary schools) and three tier (first, middle and secondary schools) systems exist side by side according to the provision within each individual LEA (local education authority).
3. All secondary pupils in Wales and over 90% of secondary pupils in England attend non-selective comprehensive schools covering the 11 to 16 or 11 to 18 age group. Most other children attend grammar schools for the 11 to 18/19 age group or secondary modern schools for the 11 to 16 age group. There are also a few technical schools and, more recently, City Technology Colleges and Technology Colleges.
4. Classes in secondary schools for pupils over 16 are known as sixth forms, and are subject to Schools Regulations. Sixth form, tertiary or further education colleges also provide education for pupils over 16. All three types of colleges are now subject to Further Education Regulations, and offer a range of academic and vocational courses.
5. Youth Training is delivered through contracts with independent training providers (often private employers). It lasts two years and is organized in "units of competence".

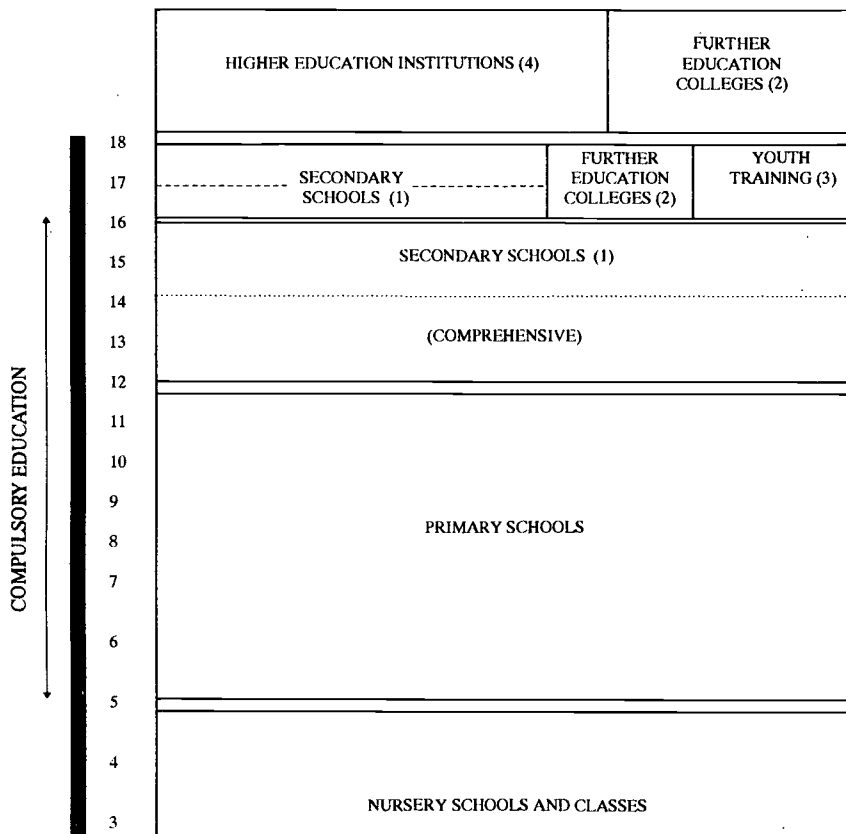
..... = division in the level / type of education.

NORTHERN IRELAND

COMPULSORY EDUCATION ↑ ↓	18	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (INCLUDES TEACHER TRAINING)	FURTHER EDUCATION	ADULT EDUCATION		
	17	GRAMMAR & SECONDARY SCHOOLS	FURTHER EDUCATION COLLEGES (3)	YOUTH TRAINING (4)		
	16	GRAMMAR & SECONDARY SCHOOLS (2,5)				
	15					
	14					
	13					
	12					
	11					
	10	PREPARATORY DEPARTMENTS OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS (1)	PRIMARY SCHOOLS			
	9					
	8					
	7					
	6					
	5	NURSERY SCHOOLS AND CLASSES				
	4					
	3					
	2					

1. Preparatory Departments of Grammar Schools charge fees.
2. Secondary education is at present selective. On the basis of tests pupils go to either grammar schools or secondary schools. Both provide a similar range of courses, grammar schools for 11- to 18-year-olds and secondary schools for 11- to 16-year-olds (many secondary schools offer post-16 opportunities).
3. Further education colleges provide a range of academic and vocational courses for persons over compulsory school age.
4. Youth Training is provided by Training Centres, Community Workshops and FE colleges.
5. In some areas of NI, secondary education between the ages of 11 to 14 is provided in Junior High Schools.

SCOTLAND



1. 99% of Scottish education authority secondary schools are comprehensive schools offering all types of courses to pupils of all abilities. 90% provide 6 years of education (4 years of compulsory and 2 years of optional secondary education). Pupils may leave at 16. Examinations usually taken at age 17 provide access to tertiary education.

2. Further education colleges offer courses in academic and vocational subjects from craft to degree level. They accept pupils currently attending secondary school for some courses. FE colleges also provide courses for the "off-the-job" component of the Youth Training scheme.

3. Youth Training is delivered through contracts with independent training providers (often private employers). It lasts 2 years, and is organized in "units of competence".

4. Higher Education Institutions comprise universities, former technological institutions, arts and health care colleges and teacher training institutions.

..... = division in the level / type of education

----- = alternative beginning or end of level / type of education

THE UNITED KINGDOM

England and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland

The national background

The United Kingdom has no written constitution and Parliament, by reason of its function as law-maker, is subject only to national tradition as enshrined in the Common Law and to the will of the electorate. It has formally accepted the various international and European Declarations of Human Rights but these have not been incorporated as such into English Law, whose ultimate appeal court is the House of Lords. Legal control of education in England and Wales stems from Education Acts, in modern times notably from those of 1944, 1988 and 1994; and there are separate Acts for Scotland and Northern Ireland. The Secretary of State for Education heads what has recently been re-named the Department for Education and Employment for England and Wales, which is also responsible for university education throughout the UK. There are separate offices under the control of Ministers in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales for the separate national public educational systems, the administration of which is largely devolved to Local Education Authorities, some 116 in number in England and Wales, twelve in Scotland and five Education and Literary Boards in Northern Ireland. The regulations of the four central authorities affect independent schools only in requiring registration to ensure that premises are suitable and that schools are conducted by suitably qualified persons. All independent schools are liable to inspection.

The maintained (i.e. public) system of education which these four offices administer differs from that of most European countries by the extent of its decentralisation. They neither provide nor administer schools or colleges nor determine their detailed curricula, though there is now a National Curriculum which lays down general rules for the range and content of subjects to be studied by pupils at different levels and provides for their testing. Much of school administration and financial control has now been devolved to individual school governors with a corresponding reduction in the scope of the previously dominant Local Education Authorities. This has been further diluted by the introduction of three new categories of school - what are called Grant Maintained Schools, which are centrally funded and semi-independent under the aegis of the Funding Agency for Schools (FAS), City Technology Colleges (CTCs) and City Colleges for the Technology of the Arts (CCTAs). CTCs and CCTAs, of which there are now 15 and 1 respectively, are independently managed by sponsors who contribute to building costs and equipment while the Ministry pays for salaries and recurrent expenditure. They may not charge fees or select by academic ability. Local authorities have virtually no jurisdiction over education in fully independent schools but may take up and pay for places in them.

The system of public examinations - the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in England and Wales, followed two years later by A Levels or the newly established technical qualifications called GNVQ (General National Vocational Qualifications), and their equivalents in Scotland and Northern Ireland - is devolved to independent examination boards responsible to the Ministry concerned. Vocational training plays an increasingly important part in the curriculum designed to give it parity of esteem with the academic courses.

As the diagrams make clear there is also great diversity in types of school and the age-ranges they cover. In England and Wales the commonest pattern is for primary education to be from 5 to 11. Secondary schools, 90% of which are now comprehensive and the remainder selective depending on LEA policy, take pupils from 11+ to 18 years of age but there is an increasing tendency for transfer to sixth form colleges or further education colleges for the

final two-year stage. These colleges are now autonomous under direct central control. There are also in some areas Middle Schools from 9 - 14.

For the patterns of education in Scotland and Northern Ireland see the relevant diagrams. Some other important differences between the British and continental patterns of education as they have evolved over the years are referred to in the Introduction.

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

1. The independent sector in the United Kingdom, with the exception of Northern Ireland, consists of entirely independent fee-paying schools at pre-school, primary and secondary level. In Northern Ireland a system of grant-aided schools called 'voluntary schools' remains in force alongside fully fee-paying schools.

Independent schools may be privately owned and operated for profit but the majority, including both old and more recent foundations at secondary level, are charitable foundations controlled by boards of trustees or governors responsible only to the Charity Commissioners in general terms. The best known among them, especially when they are boarding schools, are still known paradoxically in some circles as 'Public Schools' because in the past they extended their intake to include fee-paying members of the public in addition to the 'poor scholars' named in their foundation charters. As educational charities such schools qualify for at least 80% reduction in local rates and are not required to pay income or corporation taxes, a considerable advantage to those with income from property or financial investments. They also benefit from the return of income tax paid by donors in addition to the actual gift made. All schools which are non-profit making are exempt from the payment of VAT.

2. Statistics

According to government statistics there were in 1995 2422 independent schools in England, Wales and Scotland, 377 for boys, 377 for girls and 1668 coeducational, educating 586,300 pupils. Of these 93,475 were boarders in 866 schools. Roughly 1 in 3 boarders were girls. There were 116 independent schools with 32,578 pupils in Scotland and 58 in Northern Ireland with 47,088 pupils.

Schools in England and Wales educated about 7.5% of the total school population compared with 5.8% in 1979. The equivalent figure for Scotland is 3.85%. The proportion of coeducational to single sex schools continues to increase. There has been a steady though now lessening decline in the number of boarders to about 17% of the total in the sector and a marked increase in the number of pupils under 5, the starting age for compulsory education. In the past year there was a 7.4% increase in the number of 2-to 5-year-olds enrolled, an indication of parental concern for a good start in school. Just over half of all pupils attending independent schools are located in the South East of England, just over 12% in the South West and nearly 10% in the North West.

The independent schools in England and Wales provide 8.5% of all secondary places and, more remarkably, educate some 20% of pupils in Sixth Forms (roughly aged 16-18) since many still leave the state system at 16. As a result they are disproportionately represented in higher education and provide roughly 45% of students admitted to Oxford and Cambridge, all selected by ability and on examination performance.

The 116 independent schools in Scotland are mostly concentrated round Edinburgh and Glasgow, 73 of them are in membership of SCIS, the Scottish Council of Independent Schools. More than half of the total number are coeducational day or boarding schools. The total number of pupils in 1995, 32,578, represented about 3.85% of a total school population

of roughly 840,000. Boarders numbered 4,499 - 13.9% of the total number in SCIS schools as compared with 25% in 1990.

In Northern Ireland there is one wholly independent preparatory school, and 53 voluntary grammar schools with independent status receive grants from the Northern Ireland administration. They are fee-paying schools but 96% of their pupils are awarded free places. As the government grant does not cover capital costs there is a fee of roughly £100 towards these costs. These voluntary schools have 47,088 pupils (31% of the total secondary population) with another 2,970 in their separate preparatory departments for ages 4-11. 699 secondary pupils are boarders. Some maintained schools now enjoy what is called 'grant-maintained integrated status', similar to that of grant-maintained schools in the mainland. They are not counted as part of the independent sector.

Roughly 80% of all independently-educated pupils in the UK attend one of the 1,325 preparatory and secondary schools in membership of one or more of the eight independent school organisations belonging to an umbrella body, the Independent Schools Joint Council, (ISJC) for which see section 4 below. This group consists of boys' and girls' and more recently an increasing number of coeducational secondary and preparatory schools. It provides day and boarding education organised in its own traditional pattern - pre-preparatory 3 to 8, preparatory 6 to 11 or 13, secondary 11 or 13 to 18 - which is not paralleled in the state system, though there is a fair amount of transfer from state schools, especially at age 11, and some in the other direction mostly at the beginning of the Sixth Form when Sixth Form and Further Education Colleges offer a free alternative to two more years of fees, a wider range of courses than the smaller independent schools can provide and a less organised kind of life. ISJC schools recruited some 9,018 new entrants from overseas in 1995/6, an increase of 7.9% over the previous year. They have joined a growing cohort now numbering over 20,000 pupils in all, of whom two-thirds are not of British nationality.

These day and boarding schools, though by no means all confessional foundations, include a number of very distinguished Catholic schools; and in the larger Anglican and Protestant group some schools are highly religious in ethos while others lay less stress on worship and belief than on a broadly-based Christian education. In terms of selectivity of entry, which is normally by examination and interview, with special scholarship examinations for the most able, some cater especially for the very able but overall they offer quite a wide range of choice to match the abilities and aspirations of their clients, most of whom aim at some form of higher education. They remain strong in the humanities including the classics and modern languages, and in the sciences, technology and mathematics and are recognised as leaders in the application of information technology in which they have been pioneers. Music and the arts are stressed alongside most branches of sports and they mostly have a very wide range of extra-curricular activities ranging from drama, musical performances, debating and hobbies to social service in the community and expeditions to foreign parts.

There are also many locally based primary and secondary schools of modest size and varying quality which are not in membership of ISJC. Some of these cater, as in most other countries, for those who have fallen behind in the state system or have learning difficulties. Others are kindergartens or nursery schools, for which parents can now use government vouchers. Some are privately owned and run for profit and more than 700 have fewer than 100 pupils. The Steiner and Montessori schools, whose child-centred pedagogical principles attract an increasing number of middle-class parents, have their own organisations. The Association of Rudolf Steiner schools in the UK and Ireland lists 24 schools in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland and 2 in Eire. There is also a small number of 'free' schools, a growing number of evangelical Christian schools, mostly small in size and two or three Muslim

schools which have not so far qualified for grant-maintained or voluntary aided status in the state system.

3. Fees and Costs

Fees in the main body of independent schools under the aegis of ISJC have increased very rapidly in the eighties and nineties in response to rising costs affecting all kinds of expense and in particular that of salaries, which may represent 80% of total expenditure in a day school and 60% in a boarding school. They also reflect a more generous staffing ratio than in state schools, which now stands at 1:10.6 overall and 1:12.3 if weighted for the extra demands of sixth forms. Boarding fees average £3,571 per term, fees for day pupils £1789 in boarding schools and £1394 in day schools. Capital costs are met mainly from capital and endowment income but more frequently from money subscribed by former pupils, parents, friends and industry in response to appeals. In 1995 schools spent £255 million on new buildings and equipment, a major item of which was Information Technology, and are mostly equipped to a very high standard.

Some parents receive partial or full assistance from public funds. These include diplomats and members of the Armed Services on duty overseas; and some local authorities sponsor children from disrupted homes. Some 38,000 boys and girls, who form 7.2% of all pupils, at present benefit from the government's Assisted Places Scheme which gives help with fees graded according to parental means and offers free education at the bottom of the income scale to pupils who obtain competitive places in approved independent schools in England and Wales. A similar scheme covers pupils in Scotland. The Labour party, if it becomes the next government, intends to close the scheme down for new entrants to the disadvantage of both parents and schools. Some 85,977 pupils in 1996 benefited from scholarships offered by schools in competitive examination or from bursary funds designed to help those who fall on hard times and others may receive help in emergency from outside charities. At present 28.6% of all pupils are therefore getting some help with fees.

Parents in the UK are able to reduce the cost of fees and spread it over a period through schemes offered by insurance agencies of a kind not found in other countries, though most of these no longer qualify for charitable relief. On the other hand, payment of fees does not bring any tax advantage or remove the requirement to contribute through taxes to the cost of the state education system.

It is estimated that in 1995-6 the independent sector reduced government expenditure on education by £1.25 billion without taking into account capital expenditure.

4.Coordination: ISJC and the Scottish Council of Independent Schools

The Independent Schools Joint Council is the umbrella organisation which provides central services for the various associations of governors, headmasters and headmistresses and bursars and acts as their representative and negotiator with government and other authorities. Alongside its small Secretariat under a Secretary-General, which is responsible for policy, committee work and the inspection of independent schools, ISIS, the Independent Schools Information Service, is responsible for publicity and the circulation of information to all kinds of schools, including the publication of statistics, studies and research projects, and for the management of the Friends of Independent Schools Association for parents and other well-wishers. ISJC is funded mainly by subscriptions from its member associations. These are:

The Governing Bodies Association (GBA)

The Governing Bodies of Girls' Schools Association (GBGSA)

The Girls' School Association (GSA) - for heads of girls' schools
 The Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference (HMC)
 The Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools. (IAPS)
 The Society of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Independent Schools (SHMIS)
 The Independent Schools Bursars Association (ISBA)
 The Independent Schools Association (ISA)

Schools may belong to more than one association for different aspects of their work. This is especially true of four of them, GBA, GBGSA, HMC and GSA.

The Scottish Council of Independent Schools (SCIS) includes in its membership Scottish schools also in membership of ISJC associations as well as other Scottish independent schools and is represented at ISJC and ISIS meetings..

5. Recruitment and social balance

While it is clear that in comparison with other European countries, where independent schools are subsidised or entirely supported by government, independent schools in the UK are more élitist by reason both of cost and of selection by ability, the sector as a whole caters for a wider range of social background than might be expected and surveys suggest that more than 50% of the parents of present pupils have not themselves been educated at independent schools and that 37% were not members of a profession or managers in industry and commerce. Many of this group were in fact clerical workers or small traders and a small number were manual workers, a group which forms 55% of the total population.

The high proportion of parents from the professional and managerial class is, of course, partly to be explained by the cost of places but many such parents set a high value on the education offered and make sacrifices accordingly. Furthermore wealth is no longer the preserve of these groups and there is evidence that farmers and owners of small businesses and shops as well as those in middle management are increasingly able and willing to pay for independent education when the maintained system is in disarray. More than 40% of the places awarded under the Assisted Places scheme go to children from families earning gross income of less than £9,873 a year and 60% to those earning less than £12,000. Many of these come from one-parent families and the unemployed.

Admission to the ISJC group of secondary schools at 11+ or 13+ is normally by examination set by a Common Entrance Board appointed by the Associations of Heads or by the schools themselves. The standard set for admission varies from school to school from being very selective by attainment to the use of a qualifying standard within which places are allotted by date order of registration. At the more famous schools this may be several years in advance of age of entry. The range of ability within a school may be limited to the top 4-5% or extend more broadly to 40% or more according to its popularity and its educational objectives.

Entry to Steiner and Montessori schools and to 'free' and evangelical Christian schools is mainly a matter of interview and parental preference for the educational principles of the chosen school.

Because the independent sector is largely autonomous, the schools have been little affected by educational reform based on comprehensive ideals and are not obliged to follow the National Curriculum though in fact it is largely consistent with their own practice. Nevertheless they are far from being uniform and they have profited greatly from innovations in teaching methods, especially in the natural sciences, languages, mathematics and technical studies, including Information Technology.

6. Politics and the future

While the independent sector has decreased only slightly in size in the last decade it still faces the declared, though now less root and branch hostility of most members of the Labour Party and of sociologists. It has a somewhat reluctant respect from Liberal Democrats, who would certainly not wish to give it financial support but acknowledge the value of freedom to choose implicit in the Declarations of Human and Parental Rights and the educational standards of the independent schools. The Labour Party in its new dress in principle still dislikes both independent education and private health services as privileged, élitist and socially divisive and has similar suspicions of the privileged grant-maintained schools in the state sector, though preferred by their leader and some of his senior colleagues. If it gains office in 1997 it will certainly phase out the Assisted Places Scheme to the dissatisfaction of many of its own adherents and the dismay of the schools who admit them. Many of its members argue for the abolition of charitable status, which may in fact be reviewed, and might prompt an attempt to limit it to a small number of older foundations like Christ's Hospital. However, opinion polls show that many of the supporters of both parties belong to the majority in the UK and in all other European countries which recognizes the importance of parental choice and variety in education. Both Labour and Liberal policies appear to run counter to the directive of the European Commission of 1984 on freedom of choice and variety in education and the avoidance of social discrimination by the subsidisation of independent schools, though this forms part of the pattern even in countries like Spain and France, where socialist governments have striven to establish a single, lay, state system of education. They are also contrary to the Declarations of Human Rights, which in the UK have still not been incorporated into national Law.

The Conservative Party, many of whose members strongly favour variety and freedom of choice, the competition offered by a mixed economy in education and the kind of opportunity for social mobility the independent schools provide, is committed to their preservation and has given them modest aid in broadening their intake through the Assisted Places scheme, which replaced the former Direct Grant Scheme in the 80s and was recently enlarged and extended to include primary education. They have also restored to local authorities the right to take up and pay for places. It has, however, been deaf to the case for subsidies in support of a wider choice embracing other types of school. Although the proportion of boarders has declined and the demand for day places much increased in recent years, many parents still believe that, despite its crippling cost, boarding education has real advantages in terms of personal development as well as serving the needs of parents posted overseas. Boarding Schools have also benefited from steady recruitment of boys and girls from Europe, the Far East and many other parts of the world. The independent schools in general, while anxious to remain outside politics and masters of their own destiny, would greatly welcome more effective help in broadening their social range of recruitment, something they have tried to obtain from government since 1944. Their best hope must be that a future British Government will accept what is now established practice in EU policy and written into the constitutions of most European States. A good example is Article 7 of the German constitution which argues that independent schools can only be freed from the charge of divisiveness and be able to offer something like real equality of opportunity if proper support from public funds is assured either to parents or to schools. Similar provision is made in different ways and with different controls in most European countries and in Australia. Without some compromise of this kind it will continue to be hard to ensure to parents in the UK a valid and free choice between different patterns of education and by so doing to help to foster independence of thought and belief in the next generation of voters.

APPENDIX 1

Independent School Associations

It should be remembered that telephone codes and numbers are liable to change at short notice.

* = Member of ECNAIS.

International.

Le comité Européen pour l'enseignement Catholique (CEEC).

Avenue Marnixlaan 19A b6, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium. Tel: Int+32 2 511 4774. Fax: ...513 8694

The European Council of National Associations of Independent Schools (ECNAIS)

Secretariat: Japanvej 36, 4200 Slagelse, Denmark. Tel: Int+45 53 53 18 45. Fax: .53 53 25 88.

E-mail: friegsk@inet.uni-c.dk

Austria.

Interdiozesanes Amt für Unterricht und Erziehung.

Singerstraße 7/IV/20, 1010 Wien. Tel: Int+43 1 51 552.

Österreichische Vereinigung freier Bildungsstätten auf anthroposophischer Grundlage.

Endresstraße 100, 1238 Wien. Tel: Int+43 1 88 87 461. Fax:...88 82 16 04

Belgium

Secrétariat National de l'Enseignement Catholique en Communautés Française et Germanophone (SeGEC), and

Vlaams Secretariaat van het Katholiek Onderwijs (VSKO)

rue Guimard 5, B-1040 Bruxelles. Tel: Int+32 2 507 06 11. Fax:...513 36 45.

Association pour l'Enseignement protestant-crétien en Belgique

Brusselse Steenweg 153. B-1040 9000, Gent.

Fédération des Écoles Libres Subventionnées Indépendantes (FELSI).

Drève des Gendarmes 45, B-1180, Bruxelles. Tel: Int+32 2 374 17 03.

Fédération des Écoles Indépendantes (Écoles de pédagogie alternative indépendantes (FOS). (Steiner)

Kasteellaan 54, B-9000, Gent. Tel/Fax: Int+32 9 233 04 06.

Denmark

Frie Grundskolers Fællesråd (FGF).* Address as for ECNAIS Secretariat.

FINLAND

*Yksityisoppikoulujenliitto - Assocn. of Private Schools in Finland.**

Fredrikinkatu 61. 3krs, 00100 Helsinki. Tel and Fax: Int+358 9 6943 426. E-

mail: Pirjo.Tamminiemi@ykl.pp.fi

FRANCE.

Le Secrétariat Général de l'Enseignement Catholique Français.

277 rue St.Jacques, F-75005 Paris. Tel: Int+33 1 53 73 173 50. Fax:53 73 73 51.

La Fédération Nationale des Ecoles Privées Laiques sous contrat avec l'État.(FEPLCE)

Eurécole, 5 rue de Lubeck, 75115 Paris. Tel: Int+33 1 40 70 12 81. Fax:...40 70 91 07.

La Fédération Nationale de l'Enseignement Privé Laique (FNEPL)

37 rue d'Amsterdam, 75008 Paris. Tel/Fax: Int+33 1 42 89 33 99.

Fédération des écoles Steiner en France

11 rue de Vilaines, Amblainvilliers, 91370 Verrières-le-Buisson. Tel: Int+33 1 60 13 37 71.
Fax:..1 69 53 15 14

Centre National de Documentation sur l'Enseignement Privé.

20, rue Fabert, 75007 Paris. Tel: Int+1 47 05 32 68. Fax:..47 05 05 61.

GERMANY

Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Schulen.

Am Schlachtensee 2. D-1000 Berlin 37. Tel: Int+49 30 801 20 79. Fax: 802 23 92

Arbeitskreis katholischer Schulen in freier Trägerschaft.

Kaiserstraße 163, D-5300 Bonn. Tel: Int+49 228 10 31.

Arbeitsgemeinschaft der evangelischen Schulen.

Altstädte Kirschplatz 5, 4800 Bielefeld 1. Tel: Int+49 271 721 71.

Bund der freien Waldorfschulen e.V.

Heidehofstraße 32, D-7000 Stuttgart 1. Tel: Int+49 711 210 420. Fax: 711 210 4219.

Vereinigung deutscher Landerziehungsheime. Address as for Arbeitsgemeinschaft above.

Bundesverband deutscher Privatschulen (VdP)

Secretariat: Bundesgeschäftsstelle, Darmstädter Landstraße 85a, D-6000 Frankfurt-am-Main 70.

Tel: Int+49 69 61 4058. Fax 69 62 6763.

GREECE

The Association of Founders of Private Schools in Greece

Nikis 26, Athens 105 57

The Federation of Founders of Private Schools in Greece

Nikis 26, Athens 105 57.

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

The Joint Managerial Body, and The Council of Management of Catholic Secondary Schools

Emmet House, Mill town. Dublin 14. Tel: Int+353 1 2838255. Fax: ...2695461.

The Church of Ireland Secondary Education Committee,

Church House, Church Avenue, Rathmines, Dublin 6. Tel: Int+353 1 4978422; Fax; ...4978821.

The Irish Schoolheads Association

c/o Droghèda Grammar School, Drogheda, Co. Louth. Tel: Int+353 41 38281

ITALY

Associazione Gestori Istituti della Autorità Ecclesiastica (AGIDAE) - Catholic Governing Body.

Via Poerio 55, 00100 Roma. Tel: Int+39 6 5881195.

Federazione Istituti di Attività Educative - Catholic Schools

Via della Pigna 13, 00186 Roma. Tel: Int+39 6 679655.

Associazione Nazionale Istituti non Statali di Educazione e di Istruzione (ANINSEI)

Via Po 102, 00198 Roma. Tel: Int+39 6 8543402.

Federazione Italiana Istituti non Statali di Educazione e di Istruzione (FIINSEI)

Via Nazionale 172, 00184 Roma. Tel: Int+6 58955876.

LUXEMBOURG

There is no association representing all independent schools. Individual schools have their own associations.

Association pour la Gestion des Écoles de la Doctrine Chrétienne (AGEDOC)

21, rue d'Anvers. 1130 (or Boite Postale 1253), 1012 Luxembourg. Tel: Int+352 49 94 31 262. (Écoles Fieldgen et St.Anne)

Association pour la Gestion des Écoles de St. Elisabeth.

7 rue de Binsfield, 9912 Troisvierges. (Écoles Ste Elisabeth et Marie-Consolatrice)

THE NETHERLANDS

*Verenigde Bijzondere Scholen (VBS) (non-denominational)**

Bezuidenhoutseweg 225, 2594 Al Den Haag. Tel: Int+31 70 331 5252. Fax....4281. E-mail: R.Brouwer@vbs.nl

Nederlandse Katholieke Schoolraad (NKS)

Stadhouderslaan 9, 2508 ED6's 'Gravenhage. Tel: Int+31 703 814419.

*Bestuursraad Protestantse Christelijk Onderwijs (BPCO)**

Oostinde 114, Postbus 907, 2270 AX Voorburg. Tel: Int+31 70 348 1148. Fax:...382 1201.

Bond van Vrije Scholen. (Steiner Schools)

Hoofdstraat 20, 3972 LA Driebergen. Tel: Int+31 343 521114. Fax...5311772.

NORWAY

*Kristne Friskolers Forbund (KFF) ** (Association of Christian Schools in Norway)

Sven Brunst 9, 00166 Oslo. Tel: Int+47 22206727. Fax:...4722 36 1868. E-mail kff@sn.no

*Norske Privatskolers Landsforbund (NPL) **

Kristian Augustgt 3. 0164 Oslo. Tel: Int+47 22 03 8040. Fax:8041

*Steinerskolene i Norge **

Prof. Dahlsgt. 30, 0260 Oslo. Tel: Int +47 22 44 5655. Fax:.....4760.

PORTUGAL

Associação de Representantes de Estabelecimentos de Ensino Particular (AEEP)

Avenue Elias Garcia 76-5º, 1000 Lisboa. Tel: Int+351 1 769264.

SPAIN

*Confederación Española Centros de Enseñanza (CECE) **

Marques de Mondejar 29-31,1, 28028 Madrid, Spain. Tel: Int+34 1 725 2340. Fax:...726 1117.

E-Mail rgarcia@cece.es

*Confederación Centros Educación y Gestión (EyG). ** (Catholic Governing Bodies Assocn)

Diego de Leon 22,5 Izda, 28006 Madrid. Tel: Int+34 1 577 8588. Fax:...8587.

Federación Española de Religiosos de la Enseñanza (FERE).

Conde de Peñalver 45-4º, 28006 Madrid. Tel: Int+34 1 402 13 00. Fax:...309 17 40.

Asociación de Centros Autónomos de la Enseñanza (ACADE).

Ramon de Santillan 12,2b, 28016 Madrid. Tel: Int+34 1 259 99 89.

SWEDEN

*Friskolornas Riksförbund, **

Box 16188, 103 24 Stockholm. Tel: Int+46 8 762 77 01/58. Fax:... 59.

Waldorfskolenfederationen.

Fridehmsgatan 17, 11240 Stockholm. Int+46 8 651 55 03/652 20 20. Fax:...650 80 11.

Sveriges Kristna Friskoleråd. (SKF)

Furuhällvägen 13, 435 Molnlycke. Tel: Int+46 31 88 21 02.

SWITZERLAND

Conférence des Écoles catholiques de la Suisse (CECS)

Hirschengraben 13, Case postale 2069, 6002 Lucerne. Tel: Int+41 41 210 50 55. Fax: ..50 56.

Groupeement Suisse des Écoles de Langues (GSEL)

c/o Christian Gur, Mentor Management GmbH, Effingstr. 16, 3001 Berne. Tel: Int+31 387 15 15. Fax:..15 19.

Fédération Suisse des Écoles Privées (FSEP)

Christoffelgasse 3, 3011 Berne. Tel: Int+41 31 311 89 00.

Communauté de Travail des Écoles Steiner der Suisse.

Carmenstraße 49, 8032 Zurich. Tel/Fax: Int+41 1 262 25 01.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

*The Independent Schools Joint Council (ISJC). **

35-7 Grosvenor Gardens, London SW1W OBS. Tel: Int+44 171 630 0144. Fax:..931 0036.

E-mail: national@isis.org.uk Homepage: <http://www.isis.org.uk>

The Independent Schools Information Service (ISIS).

56 Buckingham Gate., London SW1E 6AG. Tel: Int+44 171 630 8793/4. Fax: ..5013. E-mail/ page as for ISJC.

*Association of Rudolf Steiner Schools in the UK and Ireland.**

Kidbrook Park, Forest Row, Sussex RH18 5JB. Tel: Int+44 1342 822115. Fax:..60 04. E-mail: SSF@waldorf.compulink.co.uk

The Scottish Council of Independent Schools (SCIS)/ ISIS. Scotland.

Floor 2/1, 11 Castle St., Edinburgh. EH2 3AH. Tel Int+44 131 220 2106. Fax:...

APPENDIX 2.

The following approximate middle exchange rates with £1 sterling in March 1997 may be useful in comparing costs in independent schools in different countries.

Austria	Sch 19.38
Belgium	BFr 56
Denmark	Kr 10.5
Finland	Mkk 8.2
France	Fr 9.2
German	Dm 2.7
Greece	Dr 430
Ireland	Pt 1.02
Italy	Lire 2,741
Luxembourg	as Belgium
Netherlands	Gld 3.09
Portugal	Esc 276
Spain	Pta 233
Sweden	Kr 12.2
Norway	Kr 11.1
Switzerland	Fr 2.38

NATIONAL ISIS

56 Buckingham Gate

London SW1E 6AG

Tel: 0171 630 8793/4

Fax: 0171 630 5013

E-mail: national@isis.org.uk

Internet: <http://www.isis.org.uk>

National Director: D. J. Woodhead

ISIS—the Independent Schools Information Service—was founded in 1965 and became a national organisation in 1972. It is sponsored by the leading associations of independent schools in the UK which have 1,350 schools in membership.

It was established:

1. to inform the public and media of the true nature of independent schools and of their value to the nation;
2. to answer parents' questions about independent schools and provide them with information and advice. This service is provided at National ISIS in London and at eight regional ISIS offices covering the UK and Ireland.

ISIS International runs consultancy, placement and clearing house services for parents overseas seeking independent schools for their children in the UK.

The Friends of Independent Schools is a campaigning and lobbying organisation on behalf of supporters of independent schools. Annual subscription is £9 (£12 overseas). Members receive magazines, ISIS information and other benefits.

ISIS Research Project was set up in 1981 under Mr. Peter Mason MBE, former High Master of The Manchester Grammar School, as Honorary Director. ISIS has published his studies of independent education in Australia and New Zealand, the USA and Canada, and Southern Africa as well as Europe.

Peter Mason, MBE, former High Master of The Manchester Grammar School, is Honorary Director of the ISIS National Research Project, and author of the series of studies of independent education of which this is the most recent. His address is Leeward, Longborough, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire, GL56 0QR (Telephone and Fax 01451 830147, Email: xbf15@dial.pipex.co.), from which further information may be obtained.

Mr. Mason has travelled and lectured widely in Europe, Africa, India, North America, Australia and New Zealand, and has written numerous articles on education for national and specialist journals and magazines in Britain, Europe and the US. He is a member of the British Educational Research Association and of the American Association for Research on Private Education.

He has served as Chairman of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the British Volunteer Programme and the Regional Conference for International Voluntary Service, now called FORUM,—a European co-ordinating organisation for voluntary service in the Third World—and is currently a representative of the Independent Schools Joint Council on and Life President of the European Council of National Associations of Independent Schools (ECNAIS) which was established in 1988. He is a former Governor of an independent boys' school and a girls' boarding school in the UK and of an English co-educational day and boarding school in Spain and is Chairman of an Educational Trust.

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